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Palestine

JERUSALEM

before the
United Nations

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL



Introduction

In his address before the General Assembly on December 9, 1949, Sir Alexander Cadogan, the British delegate to the United Nations, pointed to a phase of the Jerusalem debate which had not been sufficiently considered, and which contained, in his opinion, the crux of the internationalization problem. The British representative insisted that in the consideration of any dispute it was the primary function of the United Nations to exhaust *every* effort to achieve agreement before it legislates the problem for the disputants.

Pointing to Article 33, Chapter VI of the Charter entitled: "Pacific Settlements of Disputes," Sir Alexander Cadogan read the following section:

"The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall, first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice."

Since December 9th—the day on which the internationalization resolution was approved in the General Assembly by a vote of 38-14—a great section of American public opinion has begun to realize that what the British delegate had told the General Assembly had struck accurately at the truth. Internationalization had not turned out to be a panacea at all; it was not even a temporary expedient.

This fact was brought harshly to the fore by the separate actions of Israel and Jordan, the two countries who between them control the entire Jerusalem area. These two nations had followed up their declarations at Lake Success with concrete action. On December 13th, Premier David Ben-Gurion announced that "for the State of Israel, there is, has been and always will be one capital only, Jerusalem, the eternal." Its subsequent establishment as the capital of Israel followed within a few weeks. On December 30th, King Abdullah of Jordan announced the incorporation of all Jordanian-occupied territory in Palestine into his kingdom; the Old City of Jerusalem had been under Jordan's occupation and was included within the purview of Abdullah's manifesto.

These swift acts of history focused attention directly upon Sir Alexander's earlier warnings: that the final resort to "negotiation . . . mediation, conciliation, arbitration" had not been undertaken by the world body prior to the final legislative action of the United Nations. Today there is a growing sentiment in the United States that the internationalization decision, so rashly adopted, be reviewed by the General Assembly, and that greater attempts at negotiation between the disputants concerned be begun at the earliest possible date.

In the expectation that the last chapter on Jerusalem's political future has not yet been written, we are happy to include in the following pages background material on the City of Jerusalem, a review of what occurred at Lake Success during the Fall of 1949, and a segment of American and world opinion on this difficult and still-perplexing problem.

Historical Background

Jerusalem and the Jews

Jerusalem is the Holy City of the three great monotheistic religions. It is the third holiest shrine of Islam. Christian devotion to the Holy Places associated with the birth and growth of Christianity has persevered throughout the centuries. But, as the Reverend James Parkes puts it in his "History of Palestine," the Jewish interest in Jerusalem and all the Land of Israel is of a strikingly different nature from the Christian or the Moslem. "There is nowhere," he writes, "a desire of homeless Christians to return to the original land of their religion. . . . But Jewry has nowhere established another independent national center. . . ." For Jews, Jerusalem has remained not only a shrine but a national center, a place to which they kept returning and were confident they would later return in even greater numbers. Hence the Jewish connection with Jerusalem, as here sketched, is not merely a religious but a deeply national and practical one. The present controversy as to the status of Jerusalem cannot be understood without knowledge of this background extending from antiquity to last year's siege.

From that day some three thousand years ago when David, the warrior king, captured a mountain stronghold of the Jebusites and made it his capital, Jerusalem has been at the very core of Jewish life and Jewish history. To the Biblical chronicler of the reigns of the kings of Judah and Israel, Jerusalem was the city which God "had chosen out of all the tribes of Israel." To Isaiah, prophesying of the end of the days, it was clear that in that better time "the word of the Lord" would "come forth from Jerusalem" to all the peoples of the earth. For the exiles of Judah weeping by the rivers of Babylon, the name and memory of Jerusalem summed up all their agony and all their faith: "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning. Let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth; if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy." For the author of *Lamentations*, that great literary monument of the First Destruction, the captivity of the people of Judaea is almost outweighed by the specific tragedy of the City of Jerusalem—a city so dear to the writer that he describes it in virtually human terms. The very first sentence sets the tone of the book: "How doth the city sit solitary, that was full of people! how is she become as a widow! she that was great among the nations, and princess among the provinces. . . ."

As Jerusalem had sprung first to the mind of the poet lamenting its destruction, so did it spring first to the mind of the prophet rejoicing over the return from the first exile: "Break forth into joy, sing together ye waste places of Jerusalem: for the Lord hath comforted his people, He hath redeemed Jerusalem," says Isaiah (52:9). It was concern for the welfare of Jerusalem, almost equally with concern for the welfare of the Jewish community in Judah, that moved Nehemiah—founding father of the Second Commonwealth—to leave the comfort and prestige of his post in the Persian court of the fifth century before the common era. "Why should not my countenance be sad," said Nehemiah in epic words to the King of Persia, "when the city, the place of my fathers' sepulchres, lieth waste, and the gates thereof are consumed with fire?"

For the Jews of the Second Commonwealth—both those in Israel and those in the large diaspora of those days—the rebuilt Jerusalem was not only the cherished spiritual and temporal capital of the Jewish people but the very center of the earth. It was, indeed, largely to preserve the city's purity, that the fierce Maccabean struggle against Syria flared up in 166 B.C. Antiochus had prohibited the traditional sacrifices in the Temple and ordered sacrifice of swine's

flesh to idols. The purification and rededication of the Temple by the victorious Judas Maccabeus has, in the festival of Hanukah, remained a high point in the Jewish year.

The preservation of Jerusalem's spiritual character was to continue to be the acid test of Jewish independence through the troubled years of Rome's hegemony over Judea, starting with Pompey's conquest of Judaea in 63 B.C. The Jews stubbornly—of all the nations dominated by Rome—refused to worship the images of the Caesars and to allow them to be placed in the Temple: they revolted again and again, till at last, after a struggle of seven years, Rome triumphed in 70 A.D., the Temple was destroyed, and hundreds of thousands of Jews carried away into captivity.

The not inconsiderable remnant who remained in Judaea after the fateful events of 70 A.D. clung tenaciously to the soil and the sacred center of their people. It was again a threat to the sanctity of Jerusalem that stimulated the bloodiest and most valiant of Jewish revolts against Rome—the insurrection led by Bar Kochba in 132. When the Emperor Hadrian proclaimed plans for rebuilding Jerusalem as a Roman colony with a new and resplendent temple dedicated to Jupiter Capitolinus, not only the Jews in Judaea rose; from their dispersion in the countries of the Near East, thousands of Jews hastened to Palestine to fight under Bar Kochba. During the three years that Bar Kochba's men held out successfully against the Roman legions, significantly the phrase "Deliverance of Jerusalem" was struck across the faces of the Roman coins then in use. But Jerusalem was not yet to be delivered.

The dream of physical reconquest of the Land and the Holy City died with Bar Kochba's defeat; the spiritual attachment went on. During the 1,800 years of the second dispersion, the liturgy, the customs, the literature and the thinking of Jews throughout the world, reverted again and again with passionate and prime concern to Jerusalem. The grand climax of the festival of liberation is the stark and absolute "Next year in Jerusalem." The prayer that "the voice of bridegroom and of the bride shall soon be heard in the

streets of Jerusalem" is intertwined with the personal rejoicing of the Jewish bride and groom throughout the world. The plea, "Build Thou Thy Holy City, Jerusalem," is repeated daily.

The Midrashic literature that nourished and moulded the people's imagination is saturated with loving memory of Jerusalem and staunch faith in its rebuilding—Rabbi Joshua the son of Levi said: "The Holy One, blessed be He, said to Israel: 'You have been the cause of destruction of my House and the exile of my children. Pray for the peace of Jerusalem and then will I give you peace.'" And Rabbi Jochanan said: "The Holy One blessed be He has sworn: 'I will not enter the Heavenly Jerusalem until I have come into the Earthly Jerusalem.'" And again, "He who mourns over Jerusalem will yet see its rejoicing."

In the eighteen centuries between its fall and the beginning of modern Zionist resettlement, Jerusalem's spiritual role in Jewish life was far greater than its physical, concrete role. It was the dearly beloved, always remembered lodestar of a whole scattered people's longings, but only several hundreds of thousands of that people actually lived in it at any one time. Those small numbers, however, are deeply significant for they represent partial, hard-won victories of the constant urge for resettlement of Jerusalem—victories over almost every conceivable physical, political, economic, religious obstacle.

After the failure of Bar Kochba's revolt, most of the Jews of Judaea were exterminated and Jews were forbidden to enter the new city built by Hadrian upon the ruins of Jerusalem—Aelia Capitolina. The Jews transgressing the ban were subject to the death penalty. There was one exception to the rule: on the ninth of Ab Jews were permitted—for a price—to approach the ruins of the Temple as mourners.

The Empress Eudocia in the fifth century secured permission for Jews to return to Jerusalem and some are known to have lived in nearby villages, though most of the Jews of Palestine then lived in Galilee. Passing from Roman colony to Byzantine rule in the fourth century, Jerusalem was taken by the Persians in 614 and held by them for

fifteen years. The Byzantine reconquest of the land in 628 was accompanied by a great slaughter of the Jews who had aided the Persians, but the Byzantine conquest was short-lived, for in 636 the Arab armies entered Palestine and in 640 Jerusalem fell. A Moslem stamp was now to overlay the dominantly Christian color of the country and the city.

Under Moslem rule, Jews began more freely to return to Jerusalem, coming from Babylon, Egypt, Syria. They bought the slopes of the Mount of Olives facing the Temple, and there, together with pilgrims from the diaspora, celebrated the Feast of Tabernacles and other solemn days of the Jewish calendar. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, the Jerusalem Gaonite was the central religious authority of Jewry. This renewal of a vigorous Jewish life in the Holy City went through the successive conquests and changes of rule which replaced the Omayyads by the Abbaside Caliphs of Bagdad, the Tulunides of Egypt, the Ikshidi princes of Egypt, the Fatimide Caliphs of Cairo, and in 1071, the Seldjugh Turks.

The Moslem grip on Palestine was finally broken only with the British conquest in 1917, but it was interrupted by the extraordinary episode of the Crusades. The fall of Jerusalem to the Crusaders in 1099 brought virtual annihilation to the Moslems and Jews of Jerusalem: the Jews were burnt alive in their synagogue. The entire Jewish community of Jerusalem—as of Acre, Caesarea and Haifa—was annihilated, with the villages of Galilee alone remaining. It was not until the twelfth century that the number of Jews in Jerusalem began to grow again. That they came in those troubled and perilous times both as pilgrims and immigrants is one of the most striking evidences of the almost irrational love that bound Jews to Jerusalem through the ages. One of these twelfth century pilgrims, Jehuda Halevi, the illustrious poet and philosopher of Spanish Jewry, has become in Jewish folk memory, the archtype of the diaspora Jew in his relation to the city and the Land of Israel. For Jehuda Halevi's poems of his ascent to Jerusalem, voice with eternal freshness the experiences, the passion and the dedication of the

inarticulate multitudes who, like him, took the difficult decision to leave home and garden, friend and family; who, like him, journeyed over stormy seas in frail boats, imperilling their lives in their yearning to reach Jerusalem, "the fairest of scene, the delight of the world, the city of the great King," the city which he sung in magnificent hymns and where—as legend so touchingly has it—he died at the foot of the Wailing Wall.

In 1187 the reign of the Crusaders was ended by Saladin's conquest of Palestine. The country changed hands a number of times thereafter, being devastated by the Mongols in the thirteenth century, conquered by the Ottoman Turks in 1517, the Egyptians in 1832, the Turks again in 1840. Throughout these vicissitudes, however, persistent, undaunted immigrants continued to make their home in the Holy City. In 1211, three hundred Rabbis came there from France and England; in 1267, the great philosopher, Nachmanides, reorganized the Jerusalem community after the Mongol devastations; in the fifteenth century there came a large stream of Jews expelled from Spain. In 1495—only three years after the expulsion from Spain—one Spanish Jew, coming to Jerusalem, wrote: "I have grown weary searching for a house in which to live, for many have come here and the land is full of people."

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there was almost no year without immigrants coming to Jerusalem, either as individuals or in groups. In 1700 a group of 1,500 Kabbalists came to Jerusalem, settled there, and built Hurvat Rabbi Yehuda Hahasid, the synagogue which became the most important Jewish religious institution in the Old City of Jerusalem and which was demolished in 1948 by King Abdullah's Arab Legion. In the eighteenth century two groups representing the two chief streams of European Jewish thought, settled in Jerusalem: disciples of the Baal Shem-Tov and of the Gaon of Vilna.

By the middle of the eighteenth century the Jews were a sizeable minority in the small Jerusalem of those days—some one thousand, constantly persecuted by the Moslem religious authori-

ties and the Turkish tax collectors. The nineteenth century brought with it a new phenomenon which was to aid greatly in the growth and modernization of Jerusalem: wealthy and distinguished Western Jews began to come to Jerusalem, interest themselves in its welfare, and give funds for the building of modern schools, hospitals and residential suburbs.

Most distinguished among these devoted Western patrons of Jerusalem was Sir Moses Montefiore who visited Jerusalem six times between 1827 and 1875, founding a school and a hospital, encouraging agricultural settlement, becoming, in fact, the founder of the New Jerusalem built outside the walled Old City. It was in 1860, with a bequest of \$60,000 left for Jerusalem by the American Judah Touro, that Montefiore, executor of the bequest, had the first suburban houses built south of the walls. The quarter of Yemin Moshe was soon built nearby, and in 1869, to the north, the quarter of Meah Shearim. By 1895, 15,000 of the then 28,000 Jews of Jerusalem lived outside the walls.

The Jewish population of the Holy City was clearly growing by leaps and bounds and becoming the majority of the city's population. In fact, as early as the middle of the nineteenth century 8,000 of the total 15,500 residents of Jerusalem were Jews—a first step on the road that led to the Jews being 70,000 of a 110,000 total in 1936 and an even higher percentage in the years thereafter. Though most of Jerusalem's nineteenth century Jewish inhabitants were supported by contributions from abroad, new winds were beginning to

blow among them. *Hibat Zion*—the pre-Herzlian movement of the Lovers of Zion, beginning in 1881—brought new blood to Jerusalem, made it the site of the first Hebrew newspaper, of modern scholarship and publishing, of the movement led by Eliezer Ben Yehuda to turn the ancient Hebrew tongue into a modern spoken vernacular. The Jerusalem of Biblical memory and medieval pilgrimage was on its way to becoming the capital of modern Zionist resettlement.

During the mandatory regime Jerusalem was indeed the capital of the rapidly growing Jewish community, as well as of the British administration. The New City outside the walls grew, became strikingly modern and dignified. It was largely, in every sense, a Jewish city. Its dreadful experiences during the Arab war of 1948-1949 made it almost completely a Jewish city. The British went; the Arabs fled; the Jews, through bombardment and starvation and thirst, defended Jerusalem against both Arab Legion and Egyptian Army. Bearded patriarchs in medieval garb were in the defense line side by side with young working girls. Once more, in anguish and heroism, Jews fought for their historic Holy City and Capital. Under cover of night they hacked out a road to it through the wilderness. When peace returned, they established a number of new settlements in the hillsides near it, so as to lessen its isolation. It has been drawn closer than ever it was to the rest of the Jewish population of the Land of Israel. Can it now be wrenched away? Can a three thousand year-old bond be broken?

Chapter 2

Israel Claims to Jerusalem

Excerpts from a Statement of MR. MOSHE SHARETT, Minister for Foreign Affairs, State of Israel, Before the U.N. General Assembly, December 9, 1949

The delegation of Israel refuses to reach the conclusion that the cause of reason has been lost and that a last-minute appeal to cool judgment and a sense of realities must be doomed to futility. . . . In this final effort to oppose what appears to us to be a disastrous course and to urge a solution which is at once fair and practicable, the salient facts of the situation must briefly be restated.

The *first fact* is the unique character of Jerusalem. It is, on the one hand, the historic center of the Jewish people, the focus of its national life, a city which entered history as a Jewish capital and, as such, became the scene of prophesy. On the other hand, it is a city whose name is sanctified by the three world religions, and, in a specific sense, by Christianity, for it was there that events occurred which brought the Christian religion into the world. Jerusalem is also holy to Islam and contains Islam's Third Shrine. But these connotations of Jerusalem lie on entirely different planes. It is not a question of setting one connotation above another, nor of subordinating one connotation to another. Rather it is a question of assessing each in its true value and of harmonizing them all.

To the Christians, Jerusalem is a spiritual concept, an exalted symbol, a place which they worship in prayer, where some devote their lives to divine service and meditation, which most can only hope to visit in pilgrimage. To the Jews, this is not merely their one great religious center, the source of their spiritual inspiration. To them, it is the live national center, the heart of the nation, a city which they have rebuilt and created all anew—I refer to the major part of the City outside the walls, which was built by Jews and developed by them during the last seventy or eighty years, but, for the most part, within

the last twenty-five years. It is a city where they expect their creative national genius to receive full opportunity of self-expression. Jerusalem is sacred to the whole monotheistic world, but it has never played a decisive part in the national life of any people but the Jews. Twice, they were exiled from it. They have always returned. They believe that they have now come to stay.

The *second fact* is that Jewish Jerusalem, which is largely coterminous but by no means identical with the New City, is today an integral part of Israel in every conceivable respect: in territorial contiguity, in legislative and administrative oneness, in complete financial dependence—above all, in the identity of political and spiritual consciousness.

Third, at a time when the United Nations was legally entitled and morally bound to take over the City from the departing Mandatory Administration and to establish its authority there, it resolutely and irrevocably failed to do so. By recurring votes in the General Assembly and in the Trusteeship Council, it refused to shoulder in time the responsibility which it had previously voted to assume.

Fourth, the resulting vacuum was filled immediately and inevitably by the State of Israel. The State stepped into the breach in the United Nations default. It did so to rescue the City from starvation, slaughter and ruin. The bond between the State and the City was thus cemented by heroic deeds of rescue, by untold suffering and by heavy loss of life.

Fifth, this bond cannot today be dissolved without plunging the City into disaffection and chaos. It is no longer a question today, as it was at a certain stage in 1947, whether Jerusalem should be incorporated into an independent State, or

independent States, or, rather, constituted as a *corpus separatum*. The question today is whether the fact that Jewish Jerusalem forms part of the independent State of Israel should be accepted, or whether an attempt should be made to wrench the City from the body of the State and force it, against the will of its population and to their extreme and undeniable detriment, into the straightjacket of imposed tutelage. That is the question today. The Jews of Jerusalem have left no doubt in anybody's mind as to their attitude and their determination. They will acknowledge no other authority in the City than that of Israel.

Sixth, Jewish Jerusalem is today a model of orderly government. Its water and food supply, as well as its health, education, police and postal services, are exemplarily organized. Since the conclusion of the Israel-Transjordan Armistice Agreement in April 1949, complete peace and quiet have prevailed throughout the entire City. The Holy Places are inviolate and unthreatened.

Seventh, the Holy Places in and around Jerusalem are concentrated chiefly in the Arab section. There are but a few Christian sanctuaries of note in the Israel part of Jerusalem, all on the fringes of the area, which area, throughout its main part, contains no Holy Places at all, either Christian, Moslem or Jewish. On the other hand, the Church of the Nativity and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, that is to say, the cradle and the tomb of Christ, as well as the Garden of Gethsemane, and all the four Christian patriarchates, just as the main Moslem and Jewish shrines, are all in Arab hands. To represent, therefore, the issue of the Holy Places of Jerusalem as lying mainly between the Christian world and Israel is to throw the picture completely out of focus.

Another thing which has thrown the picture most grotesquely out of focus during this debate is the unanimous championship by the representatives of Arab states here present of the full international regime for Jerusalem. The impression thus created, particularly by the address of the representative of Syria, that opposition to territorial internationalization is voiced only by Israel while the Arab world is unitedly behind it is utterly false. The only Arab power whose writ runs today in a part of Jerusalem—in a very important

part of Jerusalem—and whose attitude on the issue of internationalization is therefore of direct and material import is the Kingdom of Jordan. That Government, as testified by the representative of Lebanon, is implacably and uncompromisingly opposed to internationalization in any form.

A telegram from the Foreign Minister of that Government reaffirming that opposition in unequivocal terms was read today from this tribune. May I share with fellow delegates an authentic report which my delegation has just received about the Arab reaction in and around Jerusalem to the resolution now before the General Assembly. The cabled report is of today's date and it reads as follows:

"His Majesty King Abdullah made a demonstrative appearance at the morning prayer today in the Mosque of Al Aksa (the mosque commonly known as the Mosque of Omar) in the Old City of Jerusalem. His personal chaplain said in his sermon:

"'You have heard much talk about internationalization. Do not fear, place your trust in your King, who has proclaimed that he will smite any hand which wishes to steal from us an inch of ground and will not allow foreign forces to play with the fate of the city.'"

The *eighth fact* has to do with the position of Christendom in Israel and in the Israel part of Jerusalem. The harrowing prospect conjured up here only a few minutes ago to the contrary notwithstanding, the patent fact is that close contact and relations of full harmony prevail today between the Government of Israel and the Christian ecclesiastical authorities throughout the territory of Israel, including Jerusalem. Ever since its rule was consolidated after the initial turbulent period, the Government of Israel has ensured scrupulous respect for Christian rights and Christian susceptibilities. Complete freedom of worship and full liberty and safety of movement for the clergy are effectively guaranteed. In connection with the Holy Year 1950, the Government of Israel has announced its readiness to grant pilgrims full facilities of transit in both directions. In the vital fields of religious education and religious jurisdiction and in matters of communal organization, my Government has granted every facility requested by the heads of the religious communities

concerned. High Catholic and other Christian authorities have expressed full gratification at my Government's policy in this regard.

Ninth and last, the Government of Israel readily acknowledges the authority of the United Nations concerning the Holy Places in Jerusalem and throughout the territory. Having expressed its view that the best form of safeguarding the stake of the international community in the sanctuaries of Jerusalem is by means of an agreement between the United Nations and Israel, my delegation by no means regards this as the only possible or acceptable way of meeting the issue. On the contrary, I want to make it clear that a resolution or statute adopted by the General Assembly, for which the Netherlands-Swedish Resolution, as amended by Chile, might well serve as a starting point, a resolution or statute imposing the supervision of the United Nations over the Holy Places and requiring the government or governments concerned to acknowledge that supervision and cooperate with a United Nations representative in that regard, would be equally acceptable to my Government. We are, indeed, ready solemnly to pledge our wholehearted cooperation with that international representative if he is appointed. We will contract that obligation in the full

knowledge of the grave responsibility we would incur by any failure to comply with his legitimate injunctions.

These being the determining facts of the situation, does not the solution which meets the interests of all concerned simply leap to the eye? It requires only normal judgment to see the way of establishing and upholding the authority of the United Nations in regard to the Holy Places of Jerusalem not only without conflict with the rights, interests and aspirations of the City's population, but in full harmony with them; not at the expense of the established Government, but with its full and willing support. Here is the first chance in history to bring the Holy Places and sites under the direct supervision of an international organ. Here is an unprecedented opportunity to achieve this high world purpose with the full accord and ready cooperation of the Government concerned. Here is the unique guarantee of the workability of this arrangement, inherent in its unreserved acceptance by that Government. Here, finally, is the invaluable asset of associating the entire population with responsibility for the implementation of that regime, for we have here to deal with a Government deriving its authority from the freely expressed will of the people.

Jerusalem and the Christian World

An Open Letter Addressed to the President of the United States
And Signed by 101 Prominent American Christians

Dear Mr. President:

The future of Jerusalem has been placed on the agenda of the United Nations by the recent report of the Palestine Conciliation Commission. To us as Christian ministers and laymen, the status of Jerusalem and its future are a source of anxiety. We therefore urge that the proposed solution of internationalization, while seemingly impelled by support of the principle of internationalism, be subjected to careful scrutiny in the light of the political and economic realities in Palestine today.

We are deeply concerned that the Holy Places be effectively safeguarded, an objective which is, without question, the goal of the United Nations Conciliation Commission. Each religious group—Christian, Moslem and Jewish—must enjoy free access to its shrines in both the Arab-held Old City of Jerusalem (in which practically all of the shrines and sacred sites are to be found) and in the Israel-held New City.

We share unreservedly the Conciliation Commission's concern for the sanctity of Jerusalem's Holy Places. We believe, however, that the plan the Commission has proposed is neither desirable nor practicable.

The "peace of Zion," a concept so sacred to Christian tradition, cannot be erected upon the discontent and resentment of civilian populations who are averse to being governed by an international regime and are desirous of union with the national entities to which they, as Israelis and Arabs, rightfully belong. We are convinced that international comity cannot be brought about by invoking the panacea of "internationalization" when the region to be internationalized is not—geographically, economically, socially or politically—a workable unit.

International supervision of Jerusalem's Holy Places may be achieved without involving the United Nations in unworkable ad-

ministrative and police responsibilities. A special United Nations Commission should be entrusted with the responsibility of guarding all shrines and Holy Places and guaranteeing worshippers free access to them. The administration of the secular areas—the shops and homes, the workaday cities proper—should, with justice, rest with the people of each city and the national states of which they are logically a part. Citizenship in the State of Israel is the inherent right of the Jews of Jerusalem.

As Christians, we have been particularly concerned with the relationship between the State of Israel and the Christian institutions and population of that part of the Holy Land under Israeli jurisdiction. We have closely followed the development of this relationship, and are convinced that the state and people of Israel would, in administering Jerusalem, abide by the principle of freedom of religion as formulated in the Israeli draft constitution, as repeatedly pledged by official spokesmen of the government, and as now practiced in the State of Israel.

The New City of Jerusalem is the natural and historic capital of the State of Israel. Its location militates against its use as an industrial center. Its past growth has, indeed, been due to the concentration of cultural and administrative functions within its boundaries.

The realization of the universal interest in Jerusalem and the fulfillment of the national aspirations of the people of Israel are in no way incompatible.

We trust that our government, in the course of the discussions of this issue, will support a just and practical solution of the Jerusalem problem, based upon a clear-cut distinction between the temporal and eternal aspects of the question.

Such a solution will ensure the "peace of Zion."

Christian Opinion On Internationalization

Signers:

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DEAN ALFANGE, Attorney, New York City

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REV. W. WALDEMAR ARGOW, Minister, Baltimore First Unitarian Church.

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DR. HABIB AWAD, American-Lebanese Scholar

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HON. CHRISTIAN A. HERTER, Massachusetts Congressman

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- BISHOP FRANCIS J. McCONNELL, Methodist Church, Lucasville, Ohio
- DR. OSCAR E. MAURER, Former Moderator, Congregational Christian Churches
- DR. F. F. MOORE, President, Rider College, Trenton, N. J.
- BISHOP ARTHUR W. MOULTON, Episcopal Diocese, Salt Lake City, Utah
- EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER, Journalist and Author
- PHILIP MURRAY, President, Congress of Industrial Organizations
- DR. REINHOLD NEIBUHR, Professor of Applied Christianity, Union Theological Seminary, New York
- ROBERT NORTON, Director, League for Fair Play
- DR. HARRY A. OVERSTREET, Professor, Bennington, Vt.
- JAMES G. PATTON, President, National Farmers Union, Denver, Colo.
- REV. DR. LESLIE T. PENNINGTON, Minister, First Unitarian Society, Chicago, Ill.
- JUDGE HARRY H. PETERSON, Supreme Court, St. Paul, Minn.
- REV. WENDELL PHILLIPS, Minister, Christ Church, Rye, N. Y.
- DR. DANIEL A. POLING, Editor, *Christian Herald*
- DR. THOMAS CLARK POLLOCK, Dean, Washington Square College of New York University
- REV. RALPH READ, Minister, Community Church, Maplewood, N. J.
- REV. HERMAN F. REISSIG, Secretary, International Relations Department, Council for Social Action
- WALTER P. REUTHER, President, United Automobile Workers, Congress of Industrial Organizations
- DR. RALPH RILEY, President, American Baptist Theological Seminary, Nashville, Tenn.
- DR. WALLACE W. ROBBINS, President, Meadville Theological Seminary, Chicago, Ill.
- REV. ARTHUR A. ROUNER, Minister, Cadman Memorial Church, Brooklyn, N. Y.
- ROBERT ST. JOHN, Foreign Correspondent and Author
- REV. ARTHUR A. SCHADE, Field Secretary, South Dakota Council of Churches
- LISA SERGIO, Radio Commentator, New York City
- REV. WAITSTILL H. SHARP, Secretary, Chicago Council Against Discrimination
- DR. GUY EMERY SHIPLER, Editor, *Churchman*
- DEAN CLAUDE W. SPROUSE, President of Board of Deputies, Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States
- DR. RUSSELL HENRY STAFFORD, President, Hartford Seminary Foundation
- DR. A. H. M. STONECIPHER, Dean, Lebanon Valley College, Annville, Pa.
- JUDGE FREDERICK L. STRONG, Magistrates Court, New York City
- TED O. THACKREY, Editor, *The Compass*, New York City
- DR. J. S. LADD THOMAS, Dean, School of Theology, Temple University
- DR. PAUL TILLICH, Professor, Union Theological Seminary, New York City
- REV. DR. EARL HOLLIER TOMLIN, Executive Secretary, Rhode Island Council of Churches
- DR. HARRY TRUST, President, Bangor Theological Seminary
- DR. CHARLES J. TURCK, President, Macalester College, St. Paul, Minn.
- REV. FRANK M. VANDERHOOF, Minister, Presbyterian Church, New York City
- PIERRE VAN PAASSEN, Journalist and Author
- JERRY VOORHIS, Cooperative League of U. S. A., Chicago, Ill.
- DR. CARL HERMANN VOSS, Chairman, Executive Council of the American Christian Palestine Committee
- REV. DR. HOWARD B. WARREN, Minister, South Norwalk Methodist Church
- REV. HUGH WESTON, Minister, First Unitarian Church, Natick, Mass.
- RT. REV. JOHN S. WHITE, Retired Bishop of Springfield, Ill.
- DR. HENRY N. WIEMAN, Professor, University of Oregon
- DR. CLAIR S. WIGHTMAN, President, State Teachers College, Paterson, N. J.
- DR. ALAN S. WILSON, President, Hillyer College, Hartford, Conn.
- REAR ADMIRAL R. D. WORKMAN, United States Navy (Retired)
- DR. HARRY N. WRIGHT, President, College of the City of New York
- GOVERNOR LUTHER W. YOUNGDAHL, of Minnesota

Anglican Canon in Jerusalem Attacks Internationalization Plan at Christmas Service

Canon Hugh Jones, Head of English Mission, Deplores Lack Of Concern For Wishes Of Inhabitants In Holy City

At a united carol service of all the Protestant congregations in Jerusalem, held in the Y. M. C. A., Canon Hugh Jones, head of the English mission in Jerusalem, attacked the United Nations internationalization plan in his sermon.

"Nowhere throughout the policy of the United Nations can there be traced any thread of humanitarian principles toward the Jews and Arabs of this city," Canon Jones said.

Remarking that the reason for the United Nations concern was ostensibly a desire for

the safety of the Holy Places, Canon Jones asked: "In all the policy of the last two years how much thought and concern has been shown toward the Jews and Arabs of this city?"

"It seems to me that to show concern for the Holy Places and something bordering on callousness for the people of Jerusalem is coming dangerously near to being desecration of the Holy Places," he added.

Reprinted from N. Y. TIMES
Dec. 25, 1949

U.N. 'Curators' For Palestine Shrines Urged

15 U. S. Leaders Offer Plan; Would Divide Jerusalem Into Jewish, Arab Cities

Lake Success, N. Y., Nov. 2. — Fifteen American religious, political and labor leaders last night submitted a proposal to the United Nations General Assembly calling for establishment of a U. N. "curatorship" for Palestine's holy places and the division of Jerusalem into two cities, one Jewish and one Arab.

Under the plan, holy places throughout Palestine would be placed under guardianship of a U. N. commission composed of representatives of the Moslem, Jewish, Protestant, Catholic and Greek Orthodox faiths. Jerusalem would be divided into a Jewish zone, comprising those sections of the city in which Jews live, and an Arab zone, comprising areas where Arabs reside, each zone to be integrated into the Jewish and Arab states, respectively.

The plan specifies that the international "curator" commission should be responsible solely to the U. N. Security Council and that it be empowered to employ guards. It was presented to Brigadier General Carlos P. Romulo, president of the General Assembly, and Trygve Lie, U. N. Secretary General, with a request that they put it before the appropriate U. N. committee.

Sponsors of the plan say present proposals to internationalize Jerusalem under the U. N.

would be unworkable and disastrous for the Arab and Jewish communities. They suggest that the proposed International Commission for the Holy Places should: Authenticate the holy sites in Jerusalem; be responsible for their preservation; insure free access to them at all times and supervise restoration of any holy places damaged during the recent Palestine war.

Until the holy sites are authenticated, the proposal urges that the status quo of May 1, 1948, be maintained, namely the designation of the following ten sites recognized as holy places when the British mandate over Palestine ended:

Christian holy places, the Holy Sepulchre, Deir es Sulan, the Sanctuary of the Ascension, the Tomb of the Virgin, the Church of the Nativity, the Grotto, Shepherds Field.

Moslem holy places: The Mosque of Omar.
Jewish holy places: The Wailing Wall; Rachel's Tomb.

Sponsors of the proposal were: Dr. Henry A. Atkinson, secretary of the Church Peace Union; the Rev. Dr. Donald B. Cloward, executive secretary of the Northern Baptist Convention; Bartley C. Crum, a member of the former Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry; the Rev. Dale De Witt, regional director

of the Middle Atlantic States Unitarian Association.

Also, Dr. Frederick May Eliot, president of the American Unitarian Association; William Emerson, president of the American Association for the United Nations; the Rt. Rev. Henry W. Hobson, Episcopal Bishop of Southern Ohio; Freda Kirchwey, president of the Nation Associates.

Also, Dr. Arthur Cushman McGiffert, president of the Chicago Theological Seminary; the Rt. Rev. Norman B. Nash,

Episcopal Bishop of Massachusetts; Reinhold Niebuhr, professor of Christian ethics, Union Theological Seminary.

Also, the Very Rev. G. Bromley Oxman, Methodist Bishop of New York; James G. Patton, president of the Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union; Dr. Curtis W. Reese, dean of the Abraham Lincoln Center, and Walter Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers of America.

Reprinted from N. Y. HERALD TRIBUNE
Nov. 3, 1949

Primate Submits Jerusalem Plan

Archbishop of Canterbury Asks International Enclave Beyond
Jewish Residential Area

LAKE SUCCESS, Nov. 26—In a private memorandum circulated today among several United Nations delegations, the Archbishop of Canterbury appealed for a return to the idea of establishing an international enclave in Jerusalem.

Under his proposal, the large Jewish residential areas to the north and west of the old Walled City of Jerusalem would be included as a part of the territory of Israel, an arrangement that the Archbishop contended would remove a great cause of contention and make it possible to establish in Jerusalem an international zone control that could be complete and effective.

The memorandum, it was disclosed, was submitted privately to several delegations, including the United States, Britain, Lebanon and Australia, by O. Frederick Nolde, director of the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs, representing the World Council of Churches.

As outlined by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Jerusalem area, with the exception of the Jewish areas in the north and west, would be assigned to the proposed international enclave and remain under interna-

tional authority, Jews and Arabs dwelling together with equal rights.

The main shopping area of the modern city, according to the Archbishop, "serves in a special degree the whole region" and therefore should be included in the international enclave. Even more important, the Archbishop's memorandum continued, it would thus impose an international area between the limits of the Israeli state and the Old City.

The memorandum declared that under the present plan before the United Nations two "irritant demarcation lines" would be perpetuated, one between the Israeli state and the international enclave and the other inside the enclave between the Jewish municipal zone and the Arab municipal zone. Under his plan, the Archbishop wrote, there would be only one demarcation line. Putting this line at some distance from the walls of the Old City, he declared, should greatly diminish fears of aggression on the one side and "covetous aspirations" on the other.

Reprinted from N. Y. TIMES,
Nov. 27, 1949

An Archbishop Discusses Israel

The Greek Catholic Archbishop of Haifa, George Hakim, who only a year ago was actively allied with anti-Zionist Arab groups, has recently given public acknowledgment of his excellent relations with the Government of Israel. "The Greek Catholic community," he said, "has met with helpful response on the part of Israel authorities, particularly the Ministry of Religious Affairs which has shown commendable concern for Christian feeling and church rights. Nothing has been done until now by any representative of the Government of Israel to infringe upon the rights which Greek Catholics have tradi-

tionally enjoyed."

By way of significant corollary, the Archbishop did not advocate internationalization of Nazareth which is under Israeli rule. "Nothing has happened to make us view with concern the continuation of the present regime in Nazareth." He expressed his confidence that "*ways can be found to reconcile the rights of Catholics to Holy Places with the basic interests of Israel as the established temporal power.*"

Reprinted from PALESTINE (Vol. 6, No. 3, Fall, 1949)

The Holy Places — A Catholic View

An Editorial in CAHIERS SIONIENS, a Catholic Quarterly Published in Paris, August, 1949

The question of the Holy Places has provoked certain reactions which must fill the heart of every Christian with dismay. Never perhaps has the material so invaded, compromised, betrayed and suffocated the spiritual as in the present case!

Faith, piety, pontifical directives, with the discretion that necessarily surrounds them, heartfelt attachments, feelings of piety, relief activities—everything is being exploited for political, strategic, and commercial interests. It is easy to strain or deform facts in a situation which is new, complex and not well understood. It is easy to sow geographical, political, juridical and spiritual confusion. It is easy to appeal to emotion; for example to anti-Semitism, exploiting while fostering it. There are always, unfortunately, some Christians in the Orient and Occident willing to serve God and Mammon at the same time, or at least willing to serve God by means which no end can justify. We only have to see with what complaisance certain organs which term themselves as Catholic on every occasion and even like to give themselves a sort of official character, lend themselves to this game. We don't intend to enter here into the details of the problems posed by the future of the Holy Places and the Catholic establishments in the Holy Land.

The problems exist, and they will have to be solved in conformity with the legitimate

needs of all the interested parties; it being understood that these needs, on the Christian side, must not be inspired by anything but purely spiritual motives. The basic principle of any just solution is clear: all Palestine is a Holy Land for every Jew, Moslem and Christian. But for us Christians, as Christians, it is a land solely of reminiscence and prayer, and not a land of temporal claims. This presents, of course, temporal problems, but we have faith that these problems will be resolved with much less difficulty than some would like us to believe, with the idea of convincing us in advance of the bad will of the interested parties.

We do not deny the existence of a problem of the Holy Places entirely distinct from that of the Arab refugees, though neither should serve as a bargaining-point. Still less do we say that there are no Catholic needs which should prevail in regard to the Holy Places. But we do say that these needs must not prevail *against* anyone, who is designated beforehand as an enemy; they should prevail *for* the spiritual interests of the church and of all humanity, against all those—Moslem, Jew or Christian—who oppose these high and universal spiritual interests.

We do not forget that the prime menace that hovered over the Holy

Places, that of material destruction, was the result of an aggression carried out in violation of the United Nations decision, abetted by the complicity of the rulers of a "Christian" nation and by the sympathies of a certain section of the Catholic press. While batteries commanded by British officers poured their shells on the Holy City, these "defenders of the Holy Places" were quiet. It is only later that they awoke to their role of Crusaders. . . .

Other apprehensions concerning the Holy Places and religious establishments situated in Israel territory are, mainly, a consequence of the anti-Israel attitude of certain Christian, and especially Catholic, circles and organs. This attitude provokes or fatally reinforces the animosity of the Israelis against Christians and particularly against the Catholic Church, without attracting, on the other hand, the least sympathy toward Christians on the part of Moslem Arabs. Moreover, the fact that the future of Catholic establishments and populations is not very reassuring in the zone occupied by the Arab Legion is due less to the Moslems than to power-politics.

In any case, the real or imaginary threats against the Holy Places, as *places*, must not distract attention from everything which is incompatible with their *Holy* character. If these stones are venerable to us, it is in the last analysis, because of living souls. Our modern Crusaders, who, guided by interest or emotion, are indifferent about the welfare

of souls, Christian or not, work against the church and against an equitable solution. To use unjust methods or to sow hatred is to commit the worst of profanations.

We do not know whether the internationalization of the Holy Places will be carried out. We do not even know if such a measure is still possible, or if those who have a voice in it really want it. We cannot fathom the reasoning of some, but we do know that internationalization *per se*, an imposed internationalization, will not solve anything. No equitable solution of the problem of the Holy Places will be found which neglects the pacification of minds and reciprocal proofs of good will among *all* the interested parties. No final solution will be obtained if all the interested parties—Jews, Moslem Arabs, English and Christians—are not made to recognize and sincerely respect the sacred character of the Holy Places and of the entire "Holy Land," with all the religious establishments which draw their very *raison d'être* from this sacred character.

But we will make others respect our Holy Places only in the measure that we prove that we first respect them ourselves. And we will prove our respect by attaching ourselves with pure intentions to the religious values of Palestine and its great sanctuaries and by putting into play, to safeguard these values, only means worthy of them, with truth, justice and charity.

Report of Christian Fact-Finding Mission on Jerusalem

Report submitted by six distinguished Christian Leaders, members of an independent Fact-Finding Mission, who visited Israel and the Jerusalem area in order to investigate the feasibility of internationalization. Their report was submitted to Hon. Dean Acheson, U. S. Secretary of State; Hon. Roger Garreau, President of the U. N. Trusteeship Council; Hon. Francis B. Sayre, U. S. Delegate to the Trusteeship Council.

The undersigned have just completed an extensive visit to Israel as unofficial, completely independent Fact-Finding Mission of the American Christian Palestine Committee. We have observed conditions existing in both Jewish and Arab areas. Cities and localities covered included Tel Aviv, Jaffa, Haifa, Jerusalem, Nazareth, Tiberias, Beersheba, and many intervening points in the Negev, Judea, and Galilee. We discussed the problem of the internationalization of Jerusalem with representatives of the Israel government, the Coptic church, the Greek Catholic church, the Copt Catholic church, the Roman Catholic church, Protestant churches, and with Arabs (both Christian and Moslem), as well as with many

city officials and administrative officers. From these discussions, we have come to the following conclusions:

"We find ourselves in hearty agreement with the action of the American delegation at the last meeting of the United Nations Assembly in opposing the internationalization of Jerusalem and the Holy Places and regard it as a wise position for our government to have taken. We are in accord with the statement of Hon. Francis Sayre, the U. S. representative on the Trusteeship Council, that 'the United States favored a practical solution of the Jerusalem problem and that no solution is practical that has to be enforced with the aid of an American Army.'"

1. We believe that the plan to internationalize the Jerusalem area is dangerous and unnecessary. The overwhelming majority of leaders of religious groups we interviewed expressed the belief it would not work. Many held it was impractical and certain to add confusion and impede peace negotiations now in progress.

Total internationalization is not necessary for the protection of the Holy Places. Neither the Arabs nor Israel have any other plan or purpose than to protect and preserve them. Moslems have kept these places inviolate for many centuries, and virtually all of them are now in Arab hands. There is not the slightest evidence that Israel will molest or limit the use of any religious institution or shrine.

There is complete religious freedom in Israel. The many leaders of religious institutions interviewed all declared they were in no wise interfered within their functions.

2. The prevailing conviction was that when the bitterness created by the recent war will have diminished, Israel and the Arabs would yet come to an agreement in these controversial matters, provided external interference did not complicate the problem.

An illustration of such adjustability between Arabs and Israelis is to be found in Nazareth. A predominantly Moslem community, with a Moslem mayor (Yousef Fakhour), this city nevertheless has about three thousand Roman Catholics, three thousand Orthodox, and several thousand Protestants. This city is under Israeli military administration. However, the mayor assured us that he was free in the exercise of his functions. Thus in a city, the Arab authorities of which had wisely decided that the people would remain in their home and not flee to Arab Legion territory, the same peace, harmony, and freedom exist which are characteristic of all Israel. This area is represented in the Knesset (Parliament) by three Arabs. *It is our conviction that the cooperative and harmonious relationship existing between Israeli officials and Christian institutions in Nazareth is the strongest possible evidence against any need for the maximal internationalization of the Jerusalem area.*

3. *We regard as utterly false and without any factual support the report that Israelis have desecrated religious institutions, churches, or shrines since the fighting ceased.* The government of Israel has established a Department of Religious Affairs, dealing constructively and fairly with the complex religious communities in her territory. A special division concerns itself with Christian organizations to see that Christian communities and activities are protected and to maintain agreeable relationships with the government of Israel. The actions of this division are greatly encouraging to all religious leaders. We would add with conviction and appreciation that the prevailing spiritual attitude of the people and Government of Israel is a further guarantee of all religious rights. *These people have un-*

dergone the trials of a bitter war. They are building a society, established on the principles of full equality and liberty, and they should be encouraged and sustained by all Americans who believe in these principles not only for the Middle East, but for all the world.

Numerous Christian and Moslem institutions have been protected by express orders of the Israel government, with signs conspicuously posted, and it was evident from our inspection of the premises that these orders are carefully obeyed. In many cases, where the building has been caught in the line of fire, restitution has been made and restoration is in process.

4. On the basic issue of internationalization, we would caution against the drafting of a Jerusalem statute by the United Nations that would interfere with the just territorial sovereignty of any nation, in this case the territory of Israel and Jordan. Both of these nations properly object to the U. N. plan on this ground. Freedom of access and protection of the Holy Places can easily be secured without the internationalization of territory or people.

5. The Garreau plan for Internationalization is, in our opinion, a decided improvement over previous maximal schemes but is still too inclusive.

It is hardly justifiable to exclude so obvious a Holy Place as the Mosque of Omar of the Old City from an internationalized zone, and then to include a portion of the business district of the New City, and the entire Mount Scopus where absolutely no legally established Holy Places are to be found. To advance such a plan on the ground that the territory to be taken from Israel and Jordan must be equalized is to condemn the plan by demonstrating that the major consideration is not concern for the Holy Places.

The greatest criticism advanced against all plans outlined to date is that they were drafted without regard to the wishes of the citizens of the Old and New Jerusalem, but rather from the political considerations of the various member governments of the United Nations and by outside interests. The one exception is to be found in that part of the Garreau plan dealing with Bethlehem. There the wishes of the people seem to have been considered, for it is proposed that the Church of the Nativity alone be internationalized and that the remainder of the city remain under the administration of Jordan.

6. While this Fact Finding Mission had as its purpose the study of the internationalization of Jerusalem we could not escape the human problems arising of the tragedy of war, such as homelessness, the displacement of peoples and the psychological problems besetting both peoples. We believe that these human tragedies must be alleviated in the spirit of attaining the maximum justice for both Jews and Arabs. It was apparent to us that these human problems cannot be resolved in any permanent fashion except as a part of

an overall peace signed between the several Arab states and Israel. It is therefore of overwhelming importance, both for this purpose and for any permanent adjustment concerning the sacred sites, to effect a speedy peace settlement.

7. The plan we, as fact-finders, now propose is the setting up of a United Nations Commission, with no territorial sovereignty, but with full right to seek the removal of existing limitations of access to the Old City of Jerusalem and the Holy Places, all of which are in Arab territory. Guarantees should be given to such a commission by both Jordan and Israel assuring the freedom and sanctity of the sacred places within their territories. *This is all that the Christian world has a right to require*

of two sovereign states, which we believe will in time compose their differences. This making of the peace will be accomplished all the more speedily if Israel and Jordan are encouraged in their negotiations by the Western powers.

Accordingly, we call upon our government to press for a reconsideration of the United Nations Assembly decision and to urge the adoption of a plan such as outlined above. We would point out to all who are justifiably interested in the prestige and power of the U. N. that the reconsideration of its decision is within the prerogative of the international organization, and that the formulation of a just and workable plan for guaranteeing the sanctity of the Holy Places will enhance its prestige and power.

(Signed)

DR. SAMUEL GUY INMAN, eminent churchman, member Federal Council Churches Commission of International Good Will. President Worldover Press. Former Consultant on Latin American Affairs, Department of State.

DR. CHARLES J. TURCK, President Macalester College, St. Paul, Minnesota. President National Council Presbyterian Laymen, former President Association American Colleges.

MRS. M. E. TILLY, member of President Truman's Commission on Civil Rights, and field representative of the Southern Regional Council.

DR. JOHN W. BRADBURY, Editor of the National Baptist Magazine "The Watchman-Examiner."

DR. RALPH W. RILEY, President of the American Baptist Theological Seminary, Nashville, Tennessee.

DR. VICTOR OBEHHAUS, Professor, University of Chicago, Department "Church in Agricultural and Industrial Life," also National Chairman, Council Social Action, Congregational Christian Church.

An Editorial of Comment on Fact-Finding Mission's Report

The Jerusalem Dilemma

The Trusteeship Council of the United Nations has now convened at Geneva with the thankless task of working out an internationalization plan for Jerusalem in conformity with the General Assembly's ill-advised resolution of last December. There is always the possibility, however remote, that the Council may come up with a proposal acceptable to Israel and Jordan, the two countries most directly concerned. The latest draft, put forward by Roger Garreau, president of the Council, is certainly a step in the right direction.

Meanwhile, six eminent Christian leaders, just back from the Holy Land, have expressed the opinion that the whole concept of internationalization of Jerusalem is "dangerous

and unnecessary." We agree with them that the only necessity is for "guarantees * * * assuring the freedom and sanctity of the sacred places" within the two countries. There should be no difficulty in obtaining such guarantees once the idea of internationalizing secular territory is ruled out, or at least brought down to the narrowest possible limits. To achieve this end, it is likely that the Assembly will eventually have to modify its uncompromising position in accordance with the justice and the realities of the situation.

Reprinted from N. Y. TIMES
Jan. 22, 1950

Israel and Transjordan Statements Before U. N.

Excerpts from a statement by FAWZI PASHA MULKI of Transjordan, December 6, 1949, before the Ad Hoc Political Committee of the General Assembly

Before the closure of the debate in the Sub-Committee, the representative of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan requested that a summary of the views of his Government with regard to the internationalization of Jerusalem be incorporated in the Sub-Committee's report to your honorable Committee.

We believe that the restatement of our views before your honorable Committee at this stage is necessary. For it is of paramount importance to my delegation that there should be no doubt as to our attitude on the question. Further, it is our keen desire and hope that no scheme of internationalization be adopted which will be detrimental to the safety, integrity and interests of my country. To spare the Holy Places now enjoying complete safety and protection from being involved in fresh complications is our main objective.

With this in mind, Mr. Chairman, I take the liberty to reaffirm our position before this honorable Committee. My delegation believes that no form of internationalization, whether in the nature of the Conciliation Commission, the Australian or the Netherlands' proposal, serves any purpose, as the Holy Places under the protection and control of my Government are safe and secure, without any necessity for a special regime.

It is needless, however, to emphasize that my Government will continue to stand by its declaration to respect and guarantee the freedom of worship and access to the Holy Places, without any discrimination. Any guarantee and undertakings to give effect to the aforesaid purposes will be willingly accepted by my Government.

Excerpts from a Statement by AUBREY S. EBAN, Permanent Representative of Israel to the United Nations, before the Ad Hoc Political Committee, December 6, 1949

Mr. Chairman, the people of Jerusalem suffered the most agonising torments and perils last year because the detailed arrangements drawn up for their life and future proved incapable of fulfilment even then. They associate the unimplemented Statute (of partition) with the memories of an illusion which nearly brought about their total downfall. The idea that they can ever have security, order or subsistence except by their own efforts in association with their chosen government has been irrevocably banished from their minds. Since the Sub-Committee unfortunately did not deem the issue of implementation worthy of its thought, or the views and fortunes of Jerusalem's population as a relevant consideration—we are forced to come back to the central issue again and again with all perseverance and tenacity.

The draft resolution on which we are to vote would dismantle the governmental institutions

upon which the City now depends for the stability and order of its life. It would cut Jerusalem off from the administrative processes which have rallied it out of chaos into normal routines. It would dismiss from the New City a government to which every single citizen feels and will forever feel an inseparable attachment. It would attempt to establish a little isolated State consisting entirely of those whose most ardent wish is not to belong to such a State. It would convert an area of full independence into a perpetually non-self-governing territory, against the very spirit and nature of the Charter. It would slash the economic and financial arteries of Jerusalem. It would cut it off from the governmental structure which provides its social services. It would repudiate the agreement by which the security of Jerusalem is organised at this time. It would release the Government of Israel from any obligation or capacity to main-

tain law and order—and then attempt to govern 100,000 Israel citizens without any law-enforcing agencies at all.

Is not this a program for replacing the order and freedom of Jerusalem by anarchy and discontent, endangering both its religious and its secular peace? Would not the authors of this draft resolution bring the record of the General Assembly in Jerusalem to a fantastic pitch of negation? Having once been unable to provide Jerusalem with defense and administration when it needed them with the deepest urgency—the General Assembly would now shatter and annul the defense and administration which Jerusalem has laboriously constructed for itself. Where do the distinguished advocates of this resolution derive the right to play fast and loose with thousands of human beings in this way—first, abandoning them without security and order and now coming on the scene to destroy the security and order which thousands of them have consecrated with their blood. The people of Jerusalem are not playthings to be adapted at will to the interest or dogma of the outside world. Their position is superb and unassailable in its dignity and moral strength. Freely offering to the world all that the universal interest can rightly claim, they ask nothing for themselves except to be left alone to fashion their political destiny, as they have an inalienable right to do.

Many delegations are understandably concerned for the preservation of religious interests. We are convinced that reverence for Jerusalem cannot be expressed by voting for the disintegration of its life. The sanctity of the Holy Places cannot be served by surrounding them with a turbulent, resentful disenfranchised population determined with all the passion of its heart to maintain the liberty and union which it had but recently achieved at terrible cost of sacrifice. If Jerusalem is to be religiously tranquil, it must be politically serene. Therefore, full political independence in Jerusalem is not an obstacle to the protection of the Holy Places; it is the indispensable condition of such protection.

Mr. Chairman, we have already urged this Committee not to abandon its own freedom, judgment and responsibility by taking refuge in the thought that the proposal here put forward conforms with the original Resolution of November 1947. If a solution would bring insecurity and discontent to Jerusalem today, then it is a bad solution whether or not it is based on a historic decision taken two years ago. On the other hand, if a solution can be evolved which effectively secures

the objectives of the international community without any disturbance of Jerusalem's political and economic life, then that it is a good solution, however fundamentally it differs from the recommendations of 1947.

... the Committee must really pardon us if we attach little credulity to Mr. Shukairy's impassioned appeal for the retrospective operation of the 1947 Resolution. The record of the Arab States in respect of that Resolution needs no rehearsal. First they killed it by bloody violence. Then they danced upon its grave. Now they shout for its resurrection. This is the record of all Arab representatives, not excluding Dr. Malik. Nobody need affect surprise if such opportunism is revealed upon the international arena, and if the Arab States, having failed to make Jerusalem Arab, are now altruistically engaged in ensuring that it be not Jewish. All that I resent is to see this opportunism presented as though it were the result of pious revelation. Once again we have heard some Arab States offering up the Jerusalem which they haven't got, and the one Arab State which holds Jerusalem and all its Holy Places refusing to yield them up at any price.

The City of Jerusalem for which the 1947 Statute was drafted then bears no single trace of political, administrative or economic resemblance to Jerusalem of today. The distinguished representative of Australia is at a loss to understand how the lapse of eighteen months can have affected the justice or practicability of that solution. But, Mr. Chairman, these eighteen months have seen the revolutionary upheaval in the life of Israel and Jerusalem, and the emergence of the City from the perils of destruction to the fullness of its independent life. The question is not how anything can have changed in those eighteen months, but how anything can possibly have remained the same.

While the Statute lay inert upon the files, the life of Jerusalem rushed forward in torrential change. When we read the Statute now and set it side by side with Jerusalem today, the contrast and disparity reach unbelievable proportions. The people of Jerusalem, as they look upon it, are like any independent people looking back upon the documents of their previous servitude. It is too late, two years too late. Once the fateful transition to freedom has occurred, there is no peaceful way of re-establishing subjection. There are no exceptions to that law. People do not fold up their banners of

freedom and invite the chains to which they might have submitted in the past. The fact that only eighteen months and not eighteen centuries have elapsed is of trivial importance. It is the content of the period, not its duration, which decides. Now this Committee is called upon to vote on all resolutions with an eye to their future effects, not to their past ancestry.

Mr. Chairman, I hope that we have heard the last of the claim that religious devotion is exclusively on the side of those who support the Sub-Committee's resolution. During our debate, both in this Committee and in the Sub-Committee, Dr. Malik insistently pointed out that full internationalisation as set out in the 1947 Statute is an imperative dictate of the Christian conscience, or indeed of the religious conscience in its widest sense, and that those who opposed that Statute are insufficiently inspired by Jerusalem's universal character. To us this has always seemed a claim of doubtful taste and inadequate humility. Surely it must now be laid to rest forever. For will anyone suggest that the opponents of this draft resolution in the Sub-Committee—Netherlands, Sweden, Cuba, Uruguay, Mexico, Israel and Jordan, now powerfully reinforced by the United States, the United Kingdom and Chile—countries representing important sections of Catholic, Protestant, Jewish and Muslim opinion, are not animated by the same degree of devout concern for universal religious interests as the supporters of this draft resolution?

Is it perhaps significant that a majority of the Christian representatives in the Sub-Committee withheld their support from this draft resolution, to which religious infallibility has been quite wrongly ascribed? This is no accident. Those who cherish Jerusalem's sanctity, without seeking to serve any political objectives or animosities, may well be concerned for Jerusalem's secular peace. Hence we find them pursuing solutions which genuinely seek to harmonise the interests of the international community with the aspirations of Jerusalem's people to maintain their freedom and independence intact. A truly sensitive religious insight would see Jerusalem not merely as an aggregate of shrines and sanctuaries, of hallowed rock and venerated stone—but as a "city full of people," governed by its population for the first time since antiquity, pursuing the ideals of individual and collective freedom which were first proclaimed from those very walls.

There can be no doubt what the religious objectives in Jerusalem are. The religious objective in Jerusalem is the safeguarding of the Holy Places. Any particular statute or regime, devised in the past or in the present, is merely a means to that end. The means may change while the end remains inviolate. The means envisaged in 1947 or 1948 may be replaced or superseded without the least betrayal of the end. When the Jerusalem question first came before the United Nations, it was not in the context of a specific political regime, but in relation to the question of the Holy Places and sites.

Indeed, it is noteworthy that the original proposals put before the United Nations by religious authorities asked nothing but effective measures for the protection of Holy Places and religious rights. Thus, on July 15, 1947, Brother Bonaventura, Custos of the Holy Land, made requests of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine which were limited to the international guarantee of religious immunities and which at no point suggested any particular political status for the City. He said:

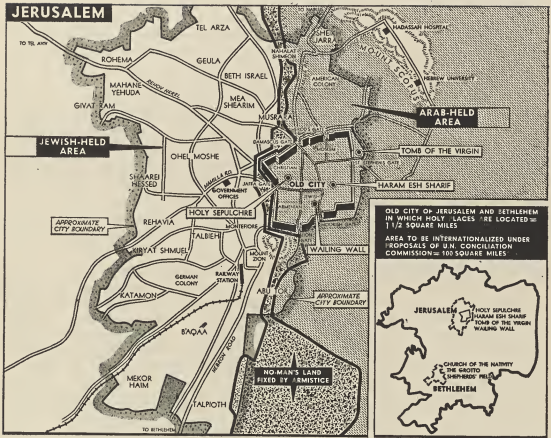
"Should there be a non-Christian State we recommend that measures—international guarantees—be embodied in any arrangement with the new State that may possibly be set up."

In his original letter to the Secretary General, the representative of the Vatican expressed Catholic aspirations exclusively in terms of religious guarantees without mentioning any particular political status for Jerusalem and indispensable to the satisfaction of those needs. He said:

"We are completely indifferent to the form of the regime which your esteemed Committee may recommend, provided that the interests of Christendom, Catholic, Protestant and Orthodox, will be weighed and safeguarded in your final recommendations. Primarily, all our sanctuaries should be respected, not only with cold juridicism but with local reverence, and they should be continuously and unconditionally accessible not only to local inhabitants but also to the Christians of the entire world."

These statements will lose none of their significance for us if we are told that their distinguished authors have changed their minds. Not only minds, but events, may change.

The Holy Places



The illustration shown above indicates that the vast majority of Holy Places sacred to Christendom are located in the Old City of Jerusalem. Both Jordan, which occupies the Old City, and Israel, which controls the rest of Jerusalem, have made numerous official declarations enunciating their intent to maintain the free and universal character of all Christian shrines and holy sites within the Holy City.

U. S. Attitude Concerning Jerusalem

Excerpts from a Statement of the Honorable JOHN C. ROSS, Representative of the United States in the Ad Hoc Committee, on the Question of Jerusalem, December 5, 1949

Mr. Chairman, I regret to have to say that the Subcommittee's draft resolution deceives world opinion, particularly Arab and Christian opinion, for it has the appearance of complete internationalization but it offers no assurances whatsoever, that any internationalization would be achieved. We do not believe that the United Nations should make a decision knowing in advance that it is not practicable to carry it out. World opinion looks to us not to make irresponsible and fruitless decisions, but to work out reasonable solutions for the problems which confront us. If the General Assembly acts otherwise it will be violating the trust given to it by the world. The question is not whether we shall have an international regime for Jerusalem. We are all agreed that we should establish such a regime at this session. The question is rather whether we shall establish an international regime which will adequately protect the interests of the international community, particularly the religious interests, and which will at the same time be effective.

Excerpts from a Statement of the Honorable JOHN C. ROSS, Representative of the United States in the General Assembly, on the Question of Jerusalem, December 9, 1949

We consider that the adoption of the measures proposed would involve the United Nations in countless difficulties and responsibilities in order to achieve purposes not all of which are of genuine concern to the international community—such as the regulation of the day-to-day secular activities of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, Arab and Jew alike. Furthermore, while seeking to establish in the Jerusalem area a new and entirely separate political entity which does not conform to the wishes of the local population, the United Nations would be delaying and even endangering the achievement of the purpose which I am convinced is the principle concern of every delegate here—to assure the immediate representative of the rightful authority of the United Nations in the Jerusalem area, and the control and protection of the Holy Places in the name of the United Nations.

The United States delegation earnestly has sought, both through its participation in the

I find it very difficult to believe that the Delegations which have fathered the Subcommittee draft can have taken these factors fully into account.

For the reasons I have stated my Delegation cannot support and will vote against the draft resolution recommended by the Subcommittee.

We are studying with great interest the joint proposal of the Netherlands and Swedish delegations which has been tabled this morning. I believe that the Netherlands-Swedish proposal represents a distinct contribution to the work of this Committee and a possible compromise of the extreme views which we have heard expressed. We are most anxious to find a solution at this session which will, in fact, establish now an international regime for a Jerusalem that will have a good prospect of being carried out. The Netherlands-Swedish proposal may well provide the basis for such a solution. My Delegation will study it sympathetically with that in mind. We wish to express our appreciation to the Delegations of the Netherlands and Sweden for their leadership in proposing a practical and satisfactory approach to the Jerusalem question.

Palestine Conciliation Commission and here in this General Assembly, to obtain approval for a workable international regime for the Jerusalem area which, first, would give genuine recognition to the international status of the Jerusalem area as the centre of three great world religions; second, would provide for the necessary protection of and access to the Holy Places under United Nations supervision; third, would contribute to the peace and stability of the area; and, finally, would take into account the interests of the principal communities in Jerusalem and the views of Israel and Jordan.

In the course of its deliberations, the Ad Hoc Political Committee also had before it another proposal, advanced by the delegations of Sweden and the Netherlands, which likewise sought to provide a basis upon which delegations, although not agreeing in all respects, might nevertheless find it possible to work out a reasonable and practical area

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of agreement. In contrast to these proposals, the draft resolution reported by the Committee disregards the actual realization of any of these objectives. There is a wide gap between the means for genuine achievement of these objectives under the Conciliation Commission's plan, for example, and the pretence of fulfilment of these purposes contained in the Committee's draft resolution.

The Committee's resolution before us not only, in our opinion, disregards the interest of the Jerusalem inhabitants; it is largely prejudicial to the achievement of the international rights in the Jerusalem area, which most delegations have so warmly defended.

For all these reasons, my delegation will vote against the Committee's draft resolution.

U.S. Still Seeks Better Formula For Jerusalem

**Notifies U. N. of Intent to Find Solution Israel
And Jordan Will Accept**

LAKE SUCCESS, Jan. 5 — The United States served notice today that despite the United Nations decision for strict internationalization of Jerusalem, American delegates would take a lead in seeking a Jerusalem solution more likely to be accepted by Israel and Jordan—the possessors of the Holy City.

Ambassador Francis B. Sayre, United States delegate to the U. N. Trusteeship Council, which meets in Geneva in two weeks to plan a Jerusalem settlement, said on departure from New York International Airport, Idlewild, Queens:

"The United States opposed the resolution for the internationalization of Jerusalem and that posi-

tion remains unchanged today. We will, however, co-operate in seeking a solution of the problem, but we want a practical solution, and it would not be a practical solution if United States troops are required to enforce the resolution."

Mr. Sayre's reference to troops was based on the belief that, inasmuch as Israel and Jordan have flatly rejected strict internationalization of Jerusalem, such a formula could not be imposed on the city without a small army to back it with force.

**Reprinted from N. Y. HERALD TRIBUNE
January 6, 1950**

Other U. N. Delegations' Views

Excerpts from a Statement by Ambassador ERIK BOHEMAN (Sweden)
Before the General Assembly on December 9, 1949

We think it of importance that the United Nations should *not* pass resolutions, the implementation of which if at all possible might require measures which cannot be properly estimated. The situation in the Jerusalem area is at present governed by an armistice concluded after delicate and difficult negotiations. It is our fervent hope that this armistice will develop into a peaceful settlement and that through amicable negotiations between the parties a political solution will emerge which will assure to Arabs and Jews alike in that area a peaceful and secure existence with confident collaboration between the now opposing elements.

If the resolution now before us is approved by a two-thirds majority what will then happen? The Trusteeship Council elaborates the Statute. The United Nations nominates a Governor, if a personality can be found which will accept that task in the present circumstances. Can that Governor count on the positive collaboration of the authorities and population in the area or even on their passivity or must he and the United Nations resort to other measures? And may I ask, Mr. President, what measures should that be? And how will the indispensable funds be found which, if the implementation does not work smoothly, might well run into sums far beyond the possible means of the United Nations? No ready answer has been given to these questions. I venture to suggest, Mr. President, that the prestige of the United Nations will not be served by the mere passage of a resolution embodying a solution, however desirable, in the way of which stands immeasurable and incalculable difficulties.

Like all other countries we are deeply concerned with the protection of the Holy Places. Might it not be that the passage of an ambitious resolution at this juncture will have the effect of defeating that very end, common to us all?

For this reason we will vote against the resolution.

The Delegations of the Netherlands and Sweden put before the Ad Hoc Political Committee a proposal embodying the principles of a functional internationalization of the Holy Places without disturbing the present political situation in the Jerusalem area. In view of the attitude of the majority of the Committee this proposal could never be discussed in detail nor could the attitude of the most interested parties now in control of Jerusalem be really ascertained. We have not the temerity to think that this proposal is perfect and could not be improved. We would willingly have considered any amendment to it which would have made it more apt to secure the end for which it was introduced, namely to ensure the protection of the Holy Places with the collaboration of the Parties most interested.

Mr. President, the Delegation of Sweden has tried, probably in vain, to make its modest contribution to the solution of the problem of the protection of the Holy Places in Palestine. It has done so convinced that nobody could doubt the sincerity, disinterestedness and objectivity of my country in a question of this kind. It has done so solely in the interest as we see it of the United Nations and in order to further a peaceful development in the Holy Land, purposes for which my country has already sacrificed the life of one of its most valuable and precious citizens.

Excerpts from a Statement of MR. THORS THORS (Iceland) in the General
Assembly, December 9, 1949

It became clear during the discussion in the Ad Hoc Political Committee as well as here today in the General Assembly that the two States concerned, Israel and the Kingdom of Jordan, are both opposed to this solution, which is likely to make its implementation difficult. We are thus faced with the fact that the United Nations would have to impose this solution on the States in control of Jerusalem and on the people living within that City. We are all aware that the United Nations does not at this moment have the

forces nor the strength within itself to impose its decision on any state or any groups of people.

In the opinion of the Icelandic delegation, the adoption of the resolution presented by the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee is likely only to add to the number of impracticable resolutions which only involve deception and invite trouble. In our opinion, the main objective should be to secure the protection of the Holy Places in Palestine. Those are the shrines of the different religions, and free access to them is the

sacred desire of people all over the world. This is the true religious aspect of the matter. This ideal we can best achieve by approving the international control of the Holy Places as outlined in the proposal of the Netherlands and Swedish delegations. We can, therefore, at the same time look realistically upon this matter and simultaneously preserve the ideal of the protection of the Holy Places.

This, in our opinion, we attain by rejecting the impracticable resolution of the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee and by approving the Swedish-Netherlands

resolution which, as we have just heard from the representative of Israel, seems to be the only solution which might lead to conciliation between the parties concerned and thus safeguard the Holy Places and ensure peace in the Holy Land.

In conclusion, rather than approve a resolution that can only bring trouble and weaken the authority of the United Nations, this General Assembly might wisely consider postponing its decision in this matter until some later date. Time has solved many difficult problems in Palestine and cured many wounds.

Excerpts from a Statement of MR. ENRIQUE RODRIGUEZ FABREGAT
(Uruguay) Before the General Assembly, December 9, 1949

When we speak of the people of Jerusalem, when we speak of the city of Jerusalem, the Old City and the new city, when we speak of the growing city gracing and crowning the hills of the old scenes with its new buildings, are we to speak of subjecting these people almost to a trusteeship system? Are we to subject them to a system that we use for those social communities which have not yet fully developed? Are we to subject a place so famous and glorious as Jerusalem to such a system? Could anyone conceive that the Hebrew University, the laboratories, the Institutes, the Hadassah Hospital, the Institute of Biology, the Musical Academy, the Organization of Artists and Writers, the Classical Theater of Jerusalem, should all be subjected to a trusteeship system which is the system that the Charter lays down for underdeveloped peoples in order to help them toward self-government? No, Arabs and Jews alike have given their lives in Jerusalem in their struggle for something better. With their hands they have built the new city, even as they have continued to love the Old City.

But it so happens that not even today do we consider such facts. It is true that they do not accept some forms of internationalization, but I have already stated that Israel has affirmed that she would accept a special international regime for the Holy Places. We listened with great attention to the representative of the State of Jordan. This was not optimism; it was not hope; it was not a passing illusion. No. From the very words uttered by these representatives—and particularly by the representative of Israel—

could we not have found a harmonious solution which would enable the Christians of the world to use the Holy Places and which would spare these Holy Places from a dispute which has only just been brought to an end for both sides by an armistice?

Could not a solution be found so that new elements would not be introduced which would once more break the balance and bring conflict in the very painful drama of Palestine? From the bottom of my heart I have always hoped that there might be peace between Arabs and Jews, not war; that they might associate in solidarity and not destroy one another. We have hoped that their sons might enter, not into a war of destruction, but into the open road of progress, of great undertakings, of work and of peace, to which the destiny of the communities of Palestine must be associated.

My delegation believes that there is still time. Let no one vote for a resolution which might be resisted and give rise to anger and wrath, to hatred, to co-operation from only one side. Let us believe that it is still possible, in this very Assembly, to find a solution which is called for by the problem of the Holy Places. That solution can be described in a very few words: a special international regime for the Holy Places of Palestine, free access to them, free worship in them, solidarity, so that the land of the old promises and pledges may once more become a land of justice and peace through the action taken by this General Assembly. In behalf of my delegation, I sincerely hope that that is what we shall do.

Excerpts from a Statement of SIR ALEXANDER CADOGAN
(United Kingdom) in the General Assembly, December 9, 1949

This leads us to the consideration of what is commonly called "implementation," about which some delegations have expressed doubts. In the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee those who supported the resolution before us challenged the doubters—those who doubted the possibility of implementation—to prove

that implementation would be impossible. To me, it seems that that was hardly the way to put the question and that the question was put to the wrong address. Rather, I would ask all those delegations who voted for the resolution to explain how they proposed to implement it. Obviously, they must have reflected on

this; they would not have cast their votes without reflecting what that meant. They cannot have been ignorant of the resistance to be expected, although some of them seemed to have ignored it. They must have made up their minds how these resistances could be overcome, if necessary by force, and they must, of course, one and all have weighed carefully in their own minds what contribution they would each be prepared to make. If they would take us into their confidence and explain to us their plan for meeting all eventualities, we might then—and gladly, too—have to revise our opinion as to the difficulties of implementation.

We have been told that by taking the course that we advocate, we should undermine the authority and prestige of the United Nations. What, I would ask, undermines the authority and prestige of the United Nations the more; the search for agreement by consent or the handing down of ready-made judgments and decrees by the General Assembly without regard for the likelihood of their producing agreements or commanding assent and without, so far as we know, any plans for their imposition on recalcitrant parties?

It is surely the function of the General Assembly to exhaust every effort to achieve agreement rather than to legislate for the world. Let us not forget that Chapter VI of the Charter entitled "Pacific Settlement of Disputes," begins with Article 33 which says:

"The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall, first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, medi-

ation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice."

Apparently, the authors of the Charter were not free from the reproach of expediency or compromise. When they stressed the need of seeking to use these methods, were they guilty of cowardice or surrender? How has it been decided and when and why that the time for all these efforts is now past?

In the consideration of this refractory problem, there are, if we wish to be clear-sighted, two issues at stake. In the first place, we cannot afford to let slip any chance, even at this late hour, of finding something to which both parties might be brought to agree. I am rather afraid that we may be missing a chance—it may be the last chance. In the second place, we must have regard—and I have as much such regard as my opponents—for the authority and prestige of the United Nations itself. I beg the Members to consider whether the authority and prestige of our Organization will be better upheld by the passing of a resolution which, viewed as a theoretical exercise, may be impeccable, but which is rather too far removed from reality and which, from that fact, may risk failure, whether it is better to do that or, on the other hand, to continue the search for agreement as provided in the Charter. It may be said that this search has gone on long enough and the way has certainly been long and stony, but I am not quite sure why the General Assembly should decide at this moment that the time has come to abandon that road and commit itself to another, and I must remain troubled by this doubt until I am informed how the Trusteeship Council is going, in the words of the resolution, to proceed immediately with the implementation of the Statute.

Excerpts from a Statement of GEN. A. G. L. McNAUGHTON (Canada) in the General Assembly on Friday, December 9, 1949

During the discussion in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee of the Australian proposal for a *corpus separatum* in the Jerusalem area, my delegation indicated its misgivings as to its practicability. We did not then, and we do not now, see how it is to be implemented. We have studied with care the statement of other delegations regarding this resolution, and I would be less than frank if I did not state that the explanations of those who supported this resolution in the Committee did not give us any reason to believe that this proposal will offer a practicable solution. We are strengthened in that view by the comments which have been made by the representatives of the United Kingdom, the Netherlands and Sweden, in this Assembly, and by the United States in the Committee.

My delegation has emphasized that its first consid-

eration is the effective protection of the Holy Places. We believe, as the vast majority of delegations here believe, that this effective protection can only be ensured by effective and adequate international authority. This does not mean, however, that the mere adoption by this Assembly of a sweeping resolution for the most complete international administration over a city, irrespective of the wishes of the inhabitants, can give this protection.

Indeed, there is reason to fear that if the Assembly disregards the real needs and the genuine aspirations of the people who live in the Jerusalem area, the result may be to endanger the very Holy Places the protection of which is our greatest interest and concern.

To adopt in this General Assembly a solution that would not work would, in our view, be a great dis-

service to the United Nations, and more particularly, would be an act of irresponsibility in regard to the Holy Places the protection of which, I repeat, must be our first duty to ensure.

On this question of Jerusalem it seems to me that we should keep our eye firmly on the proper objective, which is the international protection of the Holy Places. If we assert an international interest far beyond what is necessary for this purpose, we may

endanger the accomplishment of this objective. My delegation feels therefore that the essential requirement is an effective United Nations control with full safeguards for the protection of the Holy Places and sites and for free access to them, and for religious freedom. Subject to this, we should seek to allow the maximum local autonomy for the Arab and Jewish communities in Jerusalem.

Excerpts from a Statement of MR. GARCIA BAUER (Guatemala) in the General Assembly, December 9, 1949

In November 1947, the General Assembly adopted a resolution on the partition of Palestine. In that resolution, it was decided that the City of Jerusalem should be constituted as a separate entity, under a special international regime. The Trusteeship Council was designated as the administering authority, in behalf of the United Nations. The circumstances which prevailed at that time were, however, very different from those which prevail today. At that time, the mandatory power had stated that it intended to withdraw from Palestine by 1 August 1948. In taking over the responsibility, the United Nations set up a Special Committee to investigate on the scene. A plan for the entire territory of Palestine was adopted, in which it was recommended that the City of Jerusalem should be a separate entity, with a special international regime. All indications were that it would be possible to set up this regime for Jerusalem. For reasons which are well known to everyone, however, the Resolution of 29 November 1947 could not be fully implemented. A civil war broke out in Palestine, to the regret of the entire world. The moment the mandatory power left the territory, the picture completely changed—as is very often the case when *de facto* situations arise. Now, two years later, it would be difficult to think of a full implementation of that resolution which, at the his-

torical time of its adoption, was considered a most appropriate and satisfactory proposal.

The representatives of the two Governments whose forces control the city expressed in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee—and I am open to correction if I have misunderstood the situation—their deep concern and interest in the protection of the Holy Places, and stated that they are willing to co-operate with the United Nations in securing effective protection. But they have stated, in a manner that leaves no room for doubt, their opposition to the internationalization of the Jerusalem area as called for in the resolution adopted by the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee. This opposition must not be disregarded at a time when we are considering a resolution which, it is proposed, will be applied in the very territory that they occupy, and the weight of which will fall upon the people they represent. Even if the Kingdom of Jordan and the State of Israel were willing to accept the resolution, we should very much fear that the peoples of Jerusalem might be opposed to it. Even in that case, then—the most favorable that can be imagined—the situation could not be maintained. A regime of effective international protection of the Holy Places in Jerusalem must be based, among other factors and in so far as possible, on the acceptance and the good will of the peoples of the area and of the religions concerned.

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MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.
STAR
Nov. 26, 1949

Divided Jerusalem

FIRE DAMAGED the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem the other night. The church, a "holy place" to many Christians, is located in Jerusalem's "old city," now occupied by Arab troops of Jordan's King Abdullah. The old city lacks modern fire fighting equipment.

During the blaze, a fire brigade from the "new city" stood by the walls of the old section, offering assistance. But the "new city" is under Jewish control, so King Abdullah declined the help he could have used.

The incident illustrates the sad, senseless divisions which plague the city which is sacred to Christian, Jewish and Moslem faiths.

The United Nations is trying hard to find some "answer" to the Palestine question. But the proposal of its conciliation commission—that the whole city be semi-internationalized, leaving most normal powers of government to the present Israeli and Arab occupiers—is popular with none of the contenders for local domination.

The plan most likely to be approved by Jews and Arabs on the spot would involve making the U.N. a sort of custodian of the holy places, guaranteeing all faiths free access to their particular shrines.

Those who favor the latter proposal say internationalization of the whole city could not work, because U.N. lacks the power to enforce it. But, if tension were renewed between Jews and Arabs, could the U.N. "enforce" its guarantee of free access to the individual internationalized shrines? Obviously not.

Yet that plan seems the only arrangement the U.N. can hope for under the circumstances. Israel is dead set against internationalization of the city, and has the local military power to defy any U.N. attempt to enforce its commission's plan. In such defiance, Israel could expect Arab assistance.

So although internationalization of the whole city is in many ways the most rational plan, internationalization of the holy places instead should probably be adopted as a reluctant though realistic compromise.

Shall We Shed Blood For The City of Peace?

What to do with Jerusalem? The only unity of attitude toward that troublesome question comes from the people who now hold it—the Jews in the more modern area, the Arabs of the Kingdom of Jordan in the Old City—and their dictum is that their troops will hold what they have.

It is true that the Jews, with a diplomatic generosity not unknown to other states, have gladly acquiesced with the idea that a part of Jerusalem might be internationalized—but only that part now held by the Arabs. But the Jordan government's formal notification to the United Nations that it would not pull its troops out of Jerusalem or agree to any change in the present system of divided Israeli-Jordan control of the Holy City makes it plain that Jew and Jordanian alike are really united in defense of the status quo.

This means, among other things, that the tiny state of Israel has driven an effective wedge deep into the Arab League. Most of the other Arab states support internationalization of Jerusalem, an ideal but perhaps impossible solution. Jordan's Arabs, intent on holding not only the Old City but all the rest of non-Jewish Palestine which they now possess, have more in common with the Zionist state, where international politics is concerned, than they have with their fellow Arabs.

In the United Nations, where internationalization was first proposed as a proper

recognition of the inter-religious interest of Christian, Moslem, and Jew in the Holy City, there is no unity of opinion. Last week's performance by the French delegates to the General Assembly gives the picture. Early in the week one delegate spoke firmly in favor of internationalization. Late in the week another surprised the Assembly with the suggestion that the U. N. "might not be in a practical position to enforce internationalization"—a minor masterpiece of understatement. Who is going to fight both Jew and Arab to internationalize the City of Peace? Who is going to foot the bill?

Both Israel and Jordan, however, are willing to guarantee what international control would be designed to achieve—protection of the holy places and of Christian minorities, and freedom of access to the Holy City for those of all faiths. Under the circumstances, it would seem the height of wisdom to seek a workable compromise. There is no real point to the U.N. becoming a sovereign ruler over all the Jerusalem area, depriving Israel of its natural capital and Jordan of its greatest political asset, if it can get the two states to grant reasonable powers to a special U.N. commission entrusted with safeguarding the interests and the rights of all the civilized world to the shrines and holy places of Jerusalem.

A compromise solution of this kind seems not merely possible, but perhaps the only one that would both gain the goal the world desires and save the shedding of blood.

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LOUISVILLE, KY.
COURIER-JOURNAL
Nov. 29, 1949

A Weird Situation

A weird medley of diverse interests merged in the General Assembly of the United Nations to put through a resolution for the internationalization of Jerusalem over the rational protests of the United States and the United Kingdom.

The Catholic South American states voted to accord with the Vatican's support of internationalization. The Arab states had a double-edged reason for their vote: They wanted to record a defeat for Israel and they wanted to embarrass King Abdullah of Jordan, at present a lone wolf in the strange politics of the Arab world. Finally, there were the Soviet Union and its satellites, where bitter and pitiless war against organized religion is being pursued. The irony of the Soviet bloc's voting for internationalization of shrines sacred to three religions will not be missed. The purpose of the Soviet Union was unashamedly cynical in its power politics: To get a toehold through the Trusteeship Council in the Middle East and to stir up trouble that is resident in the resolution.

Israel has declared that it will not tolerate internationalization of Jerusalem and King Abdullah of Jordan is reported to have said that the new authority will be set up over his dead body.

Jerusalem is at present divided between Israel (the new city) and Jordan (the old city). It has become a vital and integral part of the sovereignty of Israel, and the troops of Abdullah maintain his ascendancy in the old city. While the disposition of Jerusalem has not definitely been settled, the fact is that Israel and Abdullah had arrived

at a *modus vivendi* and order is being maintained.

The present resolution is an affirmation of a resolution adopted two years ago when war in Palestine raised serious concern throughout the world over the holy places. The General Assembly might well have recognized the reality of the changed situation and confined itself to the practical solution offered by the internationalization of the holy places themselves and guarantees by Israel and Jordan of free access to them.

Now the United Nations is going to try to impose its authority over the sovereignties of Israel and Jordan against the will of two peoples directly affected. It is going to try to administer a city, run the water works, manage fire protection, regulate immigration, assume the other responsibilities of municipality, when the major purpose is the protection of the holy places.

As a United States delegate pointed out, the U.N. has not the police and military power to enforce its authority; he further estimated the cost will eventually be double the present budget of the U.N.

The delegates who supported the resolution knew these facts, knew that the U.N. would be far more successful had it limited its authority to protection of the holy places, knew the possibilities of trouble, unrest and intrigue in the situation; yet they went ahead with a disturbing sense of irresponsibility to pass the resolution for local and special reasons remote from the Jerusalem realities, putting the U.N. on a spot which might have been avoided without resigning the protection of the holy places. Common sense will eventually prevail for a practical solution, but in the meantime the U.N.'s authority can be hurt.

A Blow to Courage

Those who have thrilled to the courageous story of the Jews who after countless centuries of privation, persecution and injustice have finally set about the creation of a homeland in Israel cannot but view with regret the plan of the United Nations Conciliation Commission to internationalize the city of Jerusalem. And all who can foresee the injustice which such a step would bring about would do well to sign the petitions now placed in Ossining stores by the four local Jewish organizations.

Jerusalem, while the shrine of Christian, Jewish and Moslem faiths, is, in addition the very heart of Israel, the new Jewish state. Presently, Jerusalem includes three separate divisions, the Arab city, the holy places and the modern city in which 100,000 Jews reside.

The plan of the Palestine Conciliation

Commission to internationalize the city of Jerusalem is undoubtedly designed to protect the holy places. But while doing so it will rob the 100,000 residents of the modern city of their Israeli citizenship and seriously impair the growth of the new state, already sorely beset with economic and other troubles that every new nation must face.

Internationalization of the entire city while probably well-meaning is undeniably unjust. Certainly, its injustice is sufficient to deserve the attention of all who wish to see fair play for all of mankind, regardless of where they reside.

Through the petitions in the stores, which ask President Truman to intercede with the United Nations, Ossining residents are thus offered an opportunity to make their voices heard on the side of justice. All possible should sign them.

Protection of Holy Places

From Jerusalem on Thanksgiving Day came an account of a fire in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the Old City, now occupied by the Arabs. The church is one of seven Christian holy places in territory (in Jerusalem and in Bethlehem) held by the Arabs. In the dispatch we find a statement that the Israeli government offered to send firemen to help fight the fire.

Only last week Israel and four of its Arab neighbors were disclosed to have agreed in principle to guarantee protection and free access to the holy places, religious buildings and sites of Palestine sacred to Christians, Jews and Moslems.

The United Nations Palestine Conciliation Commission made the disclosure in a report to the General Assembly on Jewish and Arab replies to a proposed immediate declaration of formal guarantees on holy places. There is not complete agreement on details but the will to find a solution has been evidenced.

Involved is the major question of the Palestine territorial settlement. A guarantee of protection of the holy places as proposed would be without prejudice to the territorial question settlement.

A Jerusalem solution on the basis of the status quo is a possibility that can be read into the current proceedings at Lake Success. The Government of Jordan has taken a stand, which if it proves unyielding, will be a bar to internationalization. A spokesman for Jordan told a United Nations General Assembly committee on Saturday his government would not agree to any change in the present system of divided control over the Holy City by Israel and by Jordan.

A distinguished group of Americans this month submitted to the United Nations a proposal for an international curatorship for holy places throughout Palestine to be discharged by a UN commission composed of representatives of the Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, Greek Orthodox and Moslem faiths. It also calls for the establishment of two zones in the Jerusalem area: A Jewish zone comprising those sections in which Jews now live and have lived since 1860, to be integrated with the Jewish state; an Arab zone comprising the areas in which Arabs now live and have lived since 1860, to be integrated with an Arab state.

The proposal was submitted as "one likely to find acceptance" and as one that would satisfy the essential principles of the UN.

It was conceded that only a plan acceptable to both peoples has a chance of being effective. It was argued that the proposal would remove the holy sites from the realm of factional debate and establish an effective deterrent to desecration.

Included among those supporting the proposal are Dr. Henry A. Atkinson, secretary, Church Peace Union; The Right Rev. Norman B. Nash, Episcopal Bishop of Massachusetts; Reinhold Niebuhr, professor of Christian ethics, Union Theological Seminary; The Very Rev. G. Bromley Oxnam, Methodist Bishop, New York; James G. Patton, president, Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union; Walter P. Reuther, president, United Automobile Workers of America and vice president, CIO, and numerous others.

Evidently the hope inspiring this plan is that its adoption would circumvent questions of internationalization of territory or of boundaries.

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WILKES BARRE, PA.
RECORD
Nov. 28, 1949

The Jerusalem Problem

The United Nations debate over Jerusalem apparently will arrive at no decision. The Holy City will remain divided between Arab and Jew, a status which seems the only practicable course for the present.

During the year since the end of the Palestine fighting, the Old City of Jerusalem, which contains the places holy to Christians, Jews, and Moslems, has been held by Kingdom of Jordan troops. The New City, a modernized and populous section, has been held by Israeli forces.

To insure the safety of the holy places, provide access for pilgrims, and reconcile the conflicting rights of Jew and Arab, the 1947 partition resolution of the U. N. Assembly urged that Jerusalem be put under international control. This recommendation was repeated later by the U. N. conciliation commission. The Catholic church also has favored internationalization.

Last week, however, Foreign Minister Moshe Sharet asserted that Israel could not accept the proposal. The city is now an integral part of the new Jewish state, he said, and giving it up would imperil the nation's safety. "It is all now part of history," he concluded, "the clock of which cannot be put back."

Fouzi Pasha el Mulki, speaking for Jordan,

also rejected international rule. He asserted that loss of Jerusalem would push a pocket into the Arab military line and leave Arab Palestine unprotected.

The other Arab countries favor international control; so do the Latin-American states (predominantly Catholic) and the major Western powers. But those who urge the change have no concrete plans for carrying it out. The United Nations lacks the organization, the troops, and the money which would be needed to rule the city. No government or group of governments is willing to undertake the task, and probably none would be acceptable to both sides.

For the time being the holy places are reasonably safe, now that the fighting has stopped and probably will not be renewed. By holding the issue over to the next session of the U. N. and thus continuing the status quo, no harm will be done except the inconvenience to visitors crossing a national and military border.

It is to be hoped that in time the enmity between Jew and Arab will abate, and then the issue of security which both sides now invoke will not have so much weight. In this aspect of the Palestine problem, as indeed with regard to the whole, time may be the best reliance. Unhappily some phases of it cannot wait, notably the plight of the Arab refugees now facing a winter without aid.

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YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO
VINDICATOR
Dec. 1, 1949

Clouds Over Jerusalem

The General Assembly of the United Nations still has time to approve a solution of the Jerusalem question that is not only "just and equitable" but also realistic and workable. We regret to state that in our view the resolution adopted Wednesday by the Special Political Committee of the Assembly was unwise, unjust and impossible of execution.

The resolution provided that the city of Jerusalem and its environs (including Bethlehem) be placed under "a permanent international regime," to be administered by the Trusteeship Council of the U. N., in accordance particularly with the partition plan of November, 1947. It is understandable that, all other things being equal, the members of the U. N. should desire to maintain a consistent policy toward this most vexing problem. But the situation has drastically changed in the past two years, and there is no compelling reason why the U. N. should fly in the face of present facts in order to maintain consistency with decisions now obsolete.

The basic reason for treating Jerusalem as a separate entity and placing it under international rule is, of course, that the city and environs contain a number of buildings and sites sacred to three of the world's great religious groups. If in 1947 (and even in 1948) it seemed that the best way to insure their protection was indeed through creation of an enclave embracing the whole area, surely all that has happened since passage of the partition resolution two years ago leads to the conclusion that another method must now be found. Why, indeed, should it be necessary to internationalize this area that is split between the two national sovereignties of Israel and Jordan, when the aim of protecting the holy sites can be just as well accomplished by establishing U. N. jurisdic-

tion over the specific buildings and locations themselves? The Swedish-Dutch resolution introduced a few days ago in the Special Committee offers genuine grounds for reaching an understanding between the international community, Israel and Jordan. It would afford the requisite protection without upsetting a delicate political situation. It is not perfect as it stands, but it does point the way to a just and workable solution, and one that would increase the prestige of the United Nations.

Finally, though the Assembly may reaffirm the provisions of the 1947 and 1948 regulations, how can it enforce establishment of an international regime that is stubbornly opposed by the two states most intimately affected? And even if it were practical, there is grave doubt that a trusteeship over Jerusalem would be the best solution under present world conditions. The U.S.S.R. naturally favors such a plan, for, through its seat on the Trusteeship Council, Russia would have direct entree to this most sensitive of all spots in the Middle East. We cannot believe that full account has been taken of the exacerbation of Israeli-Arab relations that would be caused by carving Jerusalem out of the heart of Palestine. It would become a sore spot, a source of unrest, intrigue and the interplay of power politics. The holy places would be in constant danger. In short, this plan would doubtless lead to just the situation that the Russians would like to promote in the Middle East but certainly not one that would be to the ultimate interests of the Christian and the Western world.

The protection of the holy places is of intense importance, but so are peace and tranquillity in the Middle East. The General Assembly has it in its power to reconcile these two aims.

The Jerusalem Mess

There is little in the United Nations Special Political Committee's vote on the internationalization of Jerusalem that encourages hope either for peace in Palestine or the prestige of the U. N. itself. For the voting, which was 35 to 13 for strict internationalization, with 11 abstentions, patently was guided by considerations which in most cases had nothing to do with the immediate problem—how to safeguard the interests both of the inhabitants of the city and of the three great world religions.

The voting line-up, perhaps the weirdest in the U. N.'s history, offers the best proof that private and national factors, rather than the interests of the world community, prevailed. The Arab bloc, which voted solidly for internationalization, obviously was motivated by the desire to inflict a diplomatic defeat on Israel, which has proven impervious to its military assaults, and also to get in some spite-work against King Abdullah of Jordan, who no longer is regarded as within the fold. The pro-internationalization line-up also included an astonishing conjunction of most of the Catholic Latin-American nations and the Soviet bloc. Countries like France, China, Greece and Liberia, which frequently range themselves with the United

States, found it opportune in this case to ignore the American lead. The British Commonwealth countries were similarly split, with Great Britain opposing internationalization, Australia favoring it, and Canada and New Zealand abstaining.

We have previously noted the impracticability of internationalizing anything except the holy places, and indeed the U. N. already is up against the need of spending \$8,000,000 a year and setting up a police force of 500 men to enforce a decision that nobody on the scene seems to want. Some of the delegates have been quoted as saying privately that they voted for internationalization even though they knew it wouldn't work; others have expressed belief that a secret ballot would have produced a different result. Yet the U. N. surely is not going to prosper if its decisions are based on spite, fright and an insistence on doing what nobody really thinks should be done. To become effective, the vote in the committee must be upheld by a two-thirds majority of the General Assembly, and there seems scant possibility that this can be prevented. But unless it is prevented, unless the delegates put responsibility above expediency, the U. N. will burden its already lusterless Palestine saga with another sorry chapter, and not the last one.

Indecision on Jerusalem

The political committee of the United Nations performed a disservice to peace when it voted in favor of yet another effort to internationalize Jerusalem. There exists not the slightest reason to imagine that Israel will recede from her strenuous opposition to such a plan. And it is equally unrealistic to believe either that the United States and Great Britain would join in forcing her to do so or that they would permit the Soviet Union to take requisite action for that purpose.

The net result of the 35 to 13 vote would appear to be a prolongation of the present stalemate. The Israelis now hold the so-called "new city" of Jerusalem, which they successfully defended throughout the recent Palestinian war and which they consider an integral part of their state. The smaller old city is occupied by the forces of Hashemite Jordan. This division accords with the fact that the Jews predominate in the first area and the Arabs in the second.

The decision of the committee, therefore, would have the effect of leaving the legal future of Jerusalem undetermined and an

unsettling political factor in the Middle East. Yet it seems obvious that what is urgently needed in that part of the world is a definite settlement between Israel and the Arab states. The war ended many months ago with a complete victory for the Israelis. But the armistice has still to be transformed into a permanent peace. Meanwhile the Communists are being given an opportunity to fish in troubled waters.

It is significant that while the American and British votes were cast against this evidently impractical proposition, the Soviet delegate was one of its chief sponsors. The Russians have no interest in the protection of the religious shrines. Presumably they voted their dislike of the new Jewish republic (which has strong ties with the western democracies) and their desire to pose as the friend of the Arabs.

The ultimate outcome almost certainly will find the Jewish section of Jerusalem attached to Israel, with some form of international guarantee for the religious shrines. Neither the prestige of the United Nations nor the cause of political stability, however, has been advanced by delaying formal acceptance of this fact.

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THE KANSAS CITY
STAR
Dec. 9, 1949

An International Jerusalem?

One of the last things the United Nations general assembly did last week before adjourning was to pass a resolution calling for internationalization of Jerusalem. That act may very well prove one of UN's most futile gestures and force the assembly to meet in special session next year.

The trouble is that apparently no one in Jerusalem wants to see the Holy City put under international control. The Transjordan Arabs under King Abdullah insist that they will retain possession of the old Walled city. The Israeli, who control most of modern Jerusalem, have done what on-the-spot observers predicted they would not do—they have flouted UN with the announcement that Jerusalem will be made the capital of Israel. Jews and Arabs alike have indicated that they will use force to resist any attempt to put the UN decision into effect.

That UN itself would use force to make its decision stick seems more than unlikely. For one thing, such action probably would mean having to send Russian troops to the Holy Land. Certainly a large majority of UN's members would bridle at the mere thought of this. In any case, UN isn't likely to try to impose its plan by force in the face of almost unanimous opposition from the people of Jerusalem.

But force appears to offer the only way of putting the internationalization plan into effect. Jews and Arabs say that they won't co-operate in helping to establish an international authority. They won't put up the necessary buildings; nor, they say, would they patronize the courts, postoffices and other agencies a UN authority might establish. Even this passive type of resistance would doom the UN plan to failure.

How, in the face of these obvious difficulties, did the assembly ever arrive at such a

questionable solution to the problem of Jerusalem? The answer is: By as curious a lineup as any UN has seen in its four-year history.

Six Arab nations voted for the plan. They did so because they hoped it would result in depriving the Jews of any control over the Holy City. At the same time they were not reluctant to take King Abdullah down a peg, since a majority of Arabs outside of Transjordan are jealous of his power and position. The Soviet bloc voted for internationalization. It defended its action with the argument that it had originally voted for that plan two years ago and wouldn't go back on its decision now. But there is reason to believe that, having written Israel off as being definitely in the western powers' camp, it was not averse to doing anything that might cause trouble for the Israeli. Aligned with these countries were other nations which took the attitude that the religious shrines of Jerusalem should be readily accessible to all peoples. The final vote was: 34 to 20 in favor of internationalization.

But internationalization won't work and there is good reason to believe that the great powers—principally the United States and Britain—knew as much when the vote was taken, that, in fact, they labored hard to head it off. The decision was made largely by the small nations, with Russia's support, and apparently without much concern about endangering UN's prestige. But its prestige has been seriously jeopardized and not even a special session, in which a more realistic solution might be worked out, is going to salvage all that has been lost. Russia frequently has been accused of wanting to undermine UN. Time may prove that it actually has done so in this instance—with, tragically enough, the help of many countries opposed to its aims and philosophy.

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GRAND RAPIDS, MICH.
PRESS
Dec. 17, 1949

Status of Jerusalem

In his address to the fourth annual United Nations Assembly, Secretary of State Acheson announced that the United States favors "a practical plan for a permanent international regime in the Jerusalem area and for the protection of, and free access to, the holy places." It would appear from this language that he is not wedded to the proposal of the original partition plan, renewed by the UN conciliation commission, for internationalization of Jerusalem.

The state of Israel has offered, as an alternative to creation of a third state in Palestine, what it considers the only practical plan to accomplish these objectives. This proposal is for the international administration of the holy places through the UN.

The UN was powerless to establish the partition of Palestine; that was accomplished by force of Israeli arms. As a result of these victories, the state of Israel holds the New City, while all but a few of the holy places of Jerusalem are within the walls of the Old City, held by King Abdullah's Arab Legion. The remainder of the holy places are just outside the walls.

Even if both were willing to give way to the UN, the problem would still be far from solution. The UN is just as powerless to

defend and police the proposed international state as it was to enforce partition on the Arabs. Consequently the plan of the conciliation commission envisages the policing of their present respective areas of Jerusalem, and the immediately surrounding territory, by the forces of the Israeli government and King Abdullah.

There is therefore nothing clearly to be gained from the sacrifice asked of the Israeli government, and some new problems would be created, especially on the economic side. Jerusalem itself has no industry and the economic life of the city is dependent on its role as the administrative center of Palestine. Severed from the rest of Palestine, this role would diminish and then disappear. The New City, which has sprung up in the past two or three decades, would be doomed to extinction.

Since Jerusalem lies inland, access to the city now is across Israeli territory and will continue to be so, whatever the status of the city and the holy places may become. Free passage now exists and is guaranteed by the Israeli government. UN administration of the holy places consequently would serve every purpose that could be accomplished for the holy places by actual territorial jurisdiction; and would avoid many other difficulties and problems.

Policy Without Power In Jerusalem

The UN Trusteeship Council meeting today at Lake Success is faced with the perplexing problem of what to do with the United Nations' decision last week to internationalize Jerusalem. As it happens, the council has an overwhelming majority of those Russian, Arab and Latin American countries which for reasons of policy, politics and religion voted for a plan that on the face of it seems both unwise and unworkable. These nations, having stuck to their theoretical guns, will now at least have to consider the practical aspects of the problem.

The plan provides that Jerusalem and its surrounding area, including Bethlehem, shall be placed under "a personal international regime" and shall not be part of either Jordan or Israel. At present Israel is in possession of the new city and Jordan is in possession of the old city, with only the most fragile peace existing between them. On paper, internationalization no doubt seemed an ideal solution of this inflammable question, but the United Nations must deal finally with people, not paper. The Israelis and the Jordanese who have fought one another so fiercely on almost everything else, are in complete agreement on the disposition of the Holy City: they will give guarantees to protect the holy places, but neither is willing to give up Jerusalem to an international control body. In fact, both of them have declared repeatedly that they could not, that whatever their governments might agree, their people would not stand for it. Dispatches from Jerusalem over the week end confirm this. Both the Foreign Minister of Jordan and the Mayor of the new city of

Jerusalem stated that they would resist the internationalization of the city "with arms, if necessary."

Opponents of the plan—and the United States and Britain were among the most active—took the line of plain common sense in their contention that so long as it is not acceptable either to Israel or Jordan it could not be enforced. There was also the question of cost. A rough estimate submitted by Secretary-General TRICUP placed this at \$8,000,000 during the first year, Israel objecting that \$20,000,000 or \$30,000,000 would be more like it. The United States' representative, Mr. JOHN C. ROSS, was on sound ground when he warned that the plan commits the UN to "responsibilities of the gravest character, including financial," adding that the assembly would in effect be signing a blank check.

So it would seem. Moreover, in case Israel and Jordan persist in refusing to give up the sovereignty they now hold in the city, it is difficult to see how the United Nations proposes to make them do so. It has no army; it is inconceivable that this is a case where an army could be used if it had one. It will certainly do its prestige in the world no good to make decisions of this character only to have them openly and successfully defied. In case the Arab countries which favor the plan decide to take action, with or without Soviet backing, it could easily bring bloodshed again to the Middle East and destroy the present efforts to establish a lasting peace. The chances are very good that the Trusteeship Council will find, long before it has worked out a statute for the city and the machinery for running it, that the United Nations has taken on a task that may cost it very dearly in the end.

The Shrines, Not the City

It is one matter for the United Nations to vote for the internationalization of Jerusalem—a step that many members view as impractical—and another matter to carry out the idea.

What is desired, or so its proponents claim, is free access to the shrines that are sacred to the Christian religion. If this is all that is sought there is no reason to create an international vacuum of 60 square miles, embracing the entire city, that very likely will defeat the very purpose for which it allegedly was created.

Access to an internationalized Jerusalem would be only through Israel or Jordan. If both nations are made antagonistic by this action they both may prohibit access to the city. The U.N. already is held in very low esteem in the Near East because of its ineptitude, not to say its interested power bias, in the war between Israel and the Arab states.

Neither Tel Aviv nor Amman cares to have large sections of its populations—the residents of the old and new cities of Jerusalem—denationalized and placed under an organi-

zation that has no power or authority and is totally incapable of inspiring respect.

What the U.N. forgets in this drive for internationalization is that conditions have changed since the proposal was first advanced before the war in 1947. It forgets that the shrines of the Holy City are sacred to Moslem and Jew as well as Christian. Neither of these religions is desirous of internationalization. Lake Success is representing solely the western, Christian viewpoint, not a truly international viewpoint.

If Jews and Arabs are left in control of the two parts of the city they now occupy and each is permitted to be citizens of their states, neither will raise an objection to the international control of the holy places themselves. Access to them would be guaranteed by Israel—as has been repeatedly done—and by Jordan which, for the moment, has denied such access unless pilgrims come solely through its territory.

This is the way to peace and the satisfaction of the legitimate demands of one religion. Because it is the religion of the west the assumption must not be made that the interests of the other two religions—which are represented nationally on the spot—do not have to be fully considered also.

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CLEVELAND, O.
THE PLAIN DEALER
Dec. 9, 1949

Jerusalem Gesture

A curious mixture of sentiment and power politics seems to have brought about the vote of 38 to 14 in the United Nations General Assembly for administration of the Jerusalem area by the Trusteeship Council. Obviously the Arab bloc supported the resolution because it means a setback for the hope of Israel to retain the New City as Israeli territory. Apparently the Soviet bloc gave its blessing to international control as a means of currying favor among the Arab states. And many of the Latin-American countries voted the same way in the hope of keeping the Holy Places under international control.

The tragic aspect of the Assembly's action is that it has no relation to realities. The Old City is occupied by the Jordanians and they are as bitterly opposed to relinquishing it to international trusteeship as are the Israeli to giving up the New City. Both flatly told the Assembly's Special Political Committee that they would not accept U. N. administration over Jerusalem. The Assembly recklessly reaffirmed its resolution of 1947 without giving the slightest indication as to how it might be put into effect.

As a matter of fact, there is no means of enforcing the decision and the resolution becomes a sort of futile gesture that will complicate the task of working out an amicable solution.

The decision was quite unnecessary because both Israel and Jordan had offered to give guarantees regarding protection of the Holy Places as well as free access to them. Israel's Foreign Minister, Moshe Sharett, had also agreed to accept a Dutch-Swedish proposal for United Nations jurisdiction over the Holy Places alone. As we have pointed out before, such an international curatorship over spots that are sacred to Christians, Jews and Moslems alike would be a proper undertaking for the U. N.

There seems to be no doubt that the U. N. could accomplish this limited objective, which would protect every legitimate international interest in Jerusalem, without upsetting the solution of the larger problem that events have brought about. The contrary policy that the Assembly has imposed on the Trusteeship Council, with so little regard for the "vibrant realities," does no credit to the U. N. and is a guarantee only of future headaches in dealing with this thorny problem.

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WASHINGTON, D. C.
THE WASHINGTON POST
Dec. 11, 1949

Jews and Arabs to Resist UN Rule Over Jerusalem

The United Nations Trusteeship Council has been directed by the United Nations General Assembly to impose strict international rule on the City of Jerusalem. The assembly's vote was consistent with the recommendation made in December, 1948, by the United Nations' Palestine Commission, composed of France, Turkey and the United States.

But since then the picture in Palestine has changed radically. In May of this year Israel was admitted to United Nations membership. Israel has moved many of its administrative offices to the "new city," held by her troops, while the soldiers of ABDULLAH, King of Jordan, are in control of the ancient part of this world religious center. Both Israel and ABDULLAH have let it be known that they will attempt to get along and have sworn to resist any attempt to dislodge them from control of their respective areas in the Holy City.

The policy of the United States *vis-a-vis* the Palestine question has been consistently one of preserving the peace. Because enforced internationalization would again disrupt Palestine, the United States reversed its position.

If the United Nations proceeds with its internationalization plans, it will lose some of the prestige it has left in the eyes of the world. Nor can it do so without force of arms, which would mean the raising of an international police force—and even if this were feasible (which it is not), the burden of mandate, which Britain yielded in August, 1948, would have to be shouldered by a divided United Nations.

The entire city—the old, Arab-held section and the new, controlled and populated largely by Jews—would become an "en-

clave." An enclave, in its political meaning, is a foreign sector within a nation or community. Its medical meaning is even more apropos in this instance. The word means "something enclosed in an organ or tissue of which it is not a part."

The internationalized city would become an irritating cyst in Palestine. Jews in the new city would fiercely resent this intrusion, as would Arabs in the old city. The result would be a repetition of the evils created after the first World War.

The sacred places in old Jerusalem include the Mosque of Omar, inferior in Moslem religious significance only to Mecca. ABDULLAH is determined not to yield the prestige which its control has given him in the Moslem world.

The Jews appear to be willing to grant him that prestige, for the time being at least, although the Mosque rests on what their scholars believe to be the foundation of the Temple of Solomon, one side of which is the famous Walling Wall.

There are practical and religious, as well as political, reasons why the Jews wish to retain control of the new city. Its mountain climate is superior to the torrid and humid weather of the coast cities. Its very name has been an inspiration to the homeless and persecuted.

Both Israel and Jordan have pledged the preservation of, and free access to, the sacred shrines of Christianity within their respective areas. Both have been considerate and hospitable toward the custodians of the shrines and the pilgrims who visit them.

How long Arabs and Jews can "peaceably coexist" within the greater city no one can say, but to give them a chance would seem to be a sensible alternative. Reversal by the United Nations Assembly to facilitate that experiment would lose it far less prestige than an attempt to impose internationalization by force of arms.

Jerusalem Situation Perplexing for UN

The action of the Israeli Government in setting up its administrative departments in Jerusalem, poses a problem for the United Nations. It is not easy to see how the United Nations can provide an effective solution. If we accept the justice of the act of the United Nations in establishing and fostering a Jewish state in Palestine on the grounds that the country was sacred to the Jews by tradition and history, how can we deny a similar right regarding the ancient capital city, which the Jews themselves built, which was identified by them as "The City of David," and which is the original and the embodiment of their yearning for Zion?

We have come to a most unfortunate cul-

de-sac in the relations between the United Nations and the nation established by the weight of its authority. The United Nations has no power that it can apply to the enforcement of its decision that Jerusalem shall be neither an Israeli nor an Arab possession, but shall be internationalized. To attempt to enforce the decision by sanctions would undoubtedly lead to a serious rift among the component nations. To let the matter drop without further steps would be to negate completely the influence of the United Nations.

The only course seems to be to re-open the subject, and seek a solution agreeable to the two nations most closely concerned, and at the same time safeguarding the sentiments and interests of other peoples to whom Jerusalem is also a place of veneration.

The Commentator - - - - -

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DETROIT NEWS
Dec. 15, 1949

By W. K. KELSEY

DESPITE THE PLAN of the United Nations to internationalize Jerusalem, Israel is going ahead with her arrangements for moving her government offices to that city, thus making it her capital. Indeed, the Assembly's resolution appears to have speeded up the removal of such offices as remain in Tel-Aviv's suburbs.

The Commentator questions whether the United Nations has any authority to internationalize the Holy Places. Recognition of Israel and her admission to the UN certainly took that nation out of any trusteeship. The UN assembly may claim that internationalization is a step to maintain peace. But there are plenty of observers who believe it is nothing of the kind; that it merely makes for continued trouble, not only between Israel and the Arab nations which are her neighbors, but between Israel and the Catholic countries.

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THE FACT CAN SCARCELY be denied that the Jews have looked on Jerusalem as their political as well as their religious center from at least the time of Solomon; and since they have regained Palestine (or as much of that indefinite region as they could get), it would seem they are entitled to the city which, whether held by Jews, Romans, Arabs, Turks, or any other people, has been to all intents and purposes the chief city and governmental center of the region.

It is equally a fact that Christians have a special interest in Jerusalem and its environs, including Bethlehem. The Arabs also consider them holy. Therefore when Palestine was a part of Turkey, it was insisted on that the right of non-Turks to visit and worship in Jerusalem be recognized and protected. It was a somewhat precarious arrangement; occasionally someone had to talk turkey to the Turks to have treaty rights enforced. But with Israel in possession, with Jerusalem the capital of Israel, there is likely to be no further trouble in this respect.

Jerusalem, the Eternal

WHAT THE UN ASSEMBLY failed to realize is that the government of Israel has no choice; it must do exactly what it is doing, because no political regime that failed to establish Jerusalem as the capital could exist. Premier David Ben-Gurion could not possibly tell Parliament that the ministry had decided to accept the Assembly's decision. It would be voted out of office immediately, and it is likely that the Premier would be thrown out of his own party. Nor could any alternative government survive that agreed to give in to the UN on this point. Jerusalem, and the capital at Jerusalem, are absolutely essential to the Israeli. Their minds are made up, and no amount of argument is going to change the decision.

"For the State of Israel," Mr. Ben-Gurion told Parliament, "there is, has been, and always will be one capital only, Jerusalem, the Eternal. So it was 3,000 years ago, and so it will be, we believe, until the end of time."

He was speaking not for himself only; he was speaking for the entire population of Israel, and probably for millions of Jews elsewhere with other political allegiances, but with no disagreement on that statement.

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TODAY A NEW CITY of Jerusalem is being built, not by the Arab population, but by the Israel government. Several ministries have already been established; official buildings, including a capitol, are either under construction or being planned. A pipeline to furnish an adequate water supply should be functioning next spring. The railway connecting the city with the coast is being modernized. Large housing projects have been planned.

Under all these circumstances, it is late in the day for the UN to attempt to call a halt on the restoration of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel.

Senator Herbert Lehman said Tuesday that he regarded the UN idea "unjust and unworkable." Whether it is unjust is a matter of opinion. It is certainly unworkable.

Jerusalem and the UN

Six Protestant leaders have just returned from Palestine after a trip made under the auspices of the American Christian Palestine Committee, and have turned in what seems to us a sound report on the future management of Jerusalem.

The United Nations has long been making sheep's eyes at the great world religious center with its numerous holy places venerated by so many creeds and denominations. It has been the UN's happy thought that Jerusalem ought to be internationalized under UN guardianship.

Internationalization Found Unnecessary

These Palestine Committee investigators—including Drs. Samuel Guy Inman, Charles

J. Turck and John W. Bradbury—say no; that there would be little sense in such an arrangement.

Up to now, they find, the Arabs and the Israelis are getting along fine on all matters concerning Jerusalem; religious freedom in the State of Israel is 100%; and reports of Israeli desecrations of Holy City shrines, churches, etc., are "utterly false and without any factual support."

The group recommends, therefore, that the UN leave Jerusalem pretty much alone, except for possibly stationing a UN observer or two there, and that the internationalization scheme be dropped. In view of the clear disinterestedness of this group of investigators, we think their advice should receive the UN's most respectful consideration.

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Jerusalem The Capital?

The world did not have long to wait to learn the Israeli attitude on the UN resolution to internationalize Jerusalem. The response by Premier Ben-Gurion has been to declare that Jerusalem is already being occupied as the prospective capital of Israel, but that the holy places will be kept open and freely accessible. As the determined Israeli efforts to make Jerusalem the seat of government go on, equally determined efforts by the UN Trusteeship Council are taking place at Lake Success.

Lashed on by the Iraqi delegate who sees a chance to embarrass his nation's recent enemies, the Council voted 6 to 1 to push the internationalization of the Holy City immediately. Only the United States voted for postponement and was instantly scored by the barb-tongued Dr. Jamali, of Iraq, for trying to "stall for time." If the United States and Great Britain, along with the other anti-internationalization powers wanted to see an Israeli fait accompli, they are not far from their wish.

It was not through the UN that Israel was born. Nor is the UN, in its present state, likely to dislodge the militant new govern-

ment from the New City of Jerusalem. The majority of the General Assembly have made an unwise and perhaps unenforceable decision on Jerusalem and are now committed to carrying it out. If the problem is turned over to the Security Council, which is more than likely, what could be more natural than a piously innocent offer from Russia to lend troops to go in and drive the rebels out? The Near East is the only section outside the western democratic world that Russia has not successfully penetrated and it would be ironic indeed if the UN handed her that on a silver platter.

Those now in power in Israel are recognized men of ability and enlightenment. Some of their opponents and minor party politicians are more radical than enlightened. If Premier Ben-Gurion's government falls the inevitable replacement may be less gifted in statesmanship than the present regime. The bitter fruits of poor diplomatic judgment in the UN internationalization of Jerusalem are already blooming. Only the enemies of Israel, and perhaps Russia, stand to gain in the ensuing conflict and the peace and freedom of the world shall have profited little or nothing.

It Won't Work

The Israeli parliament's decision to move Israel's capital from Tel Aviv to the Jewish-held part of Jerusalem and indications that Jordan's King Abdullah would like to make Arab Jerusalem his capital show how small are the chances that the U. N. will be able to enforce its decision to internationalize the city.

The basic fault of the United Nations ruling, however, is not the organization's sheer incapacity for enforcement of such a decision against the will of the local populations involved. What really is wrong with the plan is what might be called its presumptuousness. In presuming to say to two nations that a landlocked community planted squarely at the meeting-place of their respective domains shall not belong wholly or partly to either of them, the U. N. has undertaken to make a determination which is not rightly within its province.

Furthermore, the whole "city without a country" idea is discredited by history, both old and recent. With modern civilization

maturing all about them, the old city-states of Italy found it necessary to seek a common political and economic destiny by establishing a national government. The Free City of Fiume endured as an independent community for only a few years after the first world war before going over to Italy, and Danzig, another "city without a country," remained in this unnatural condition only long enough to serve as a breeding place for the germs of world war II. The ultimate outcome of the current experiment with Trieste still is obscure, but one finds it difficult to imagine that Trieste will remain forever independent of its two neighbors.

Even these unsuccessful or still pending free city undertakings involved communities directly accessible from the sea. International administrators of Jerusalem could not achieve their mission without trespassing on the land or through the air of nations which have made it quite plain they are not wanted.

The cards of history and the cards of prevailing circumstances both are stacked against the success of this ill-conceived plan.

The Jerusalem Decision

Now that the United Nations General Assembly has voted overwhelmingly in favor of placing Jerusalem and its environs under permanent and complete international control, the world can only hope that all parties concerned—particularly Israel and Jordan—will co-operate, with good will and sincerity, in an effort to make the project work.

Hope to one side, however, the realities strongly suggest that the Assembly—with more than two-thirds of its members saying "aye"—has made a serious mistake in voting to internationalize the Holy City. At any rate, there is ample reason to fear that in trying to effectuate its decision the U.N. will run into a great deal of trouble, suffer a loss of prestige and be obliged—in due course—to reconsider the situation and work out another way of dealing with it.

There are several reasons why this internationalization plan gives rise to numerous misgivings. To begin with, its largest groups of supporters—the Arab states, the Soviet bloc and the Latin American members (with some exceptions among the latter)—seem to have paid scant attention to the question of whether it is really workable or not. Instead, the Arabs and the Russians have been motivated largely by considerations of power politics, while the Latins have been influenced by a Catholic conviction that the protection of Jerusalem's holy places—sacred alike to Moslem, Christian and Jew—requires that the city and the surrounding area be turned over completely to the rule of the U.N.

Of course, if Israel and Jordan—which is a kind of maverick among the Arab states and which the Soviet veto has excluded

from the U.N.—were willing to give up the sections of the city they now hold, internationalization might be carried out without extraordinary difficulties. But even if that were the case, even if the best of circumstances prevailed, there would still be reason to question the wisdom of the project. For why should the United Nations undertake the heavy and costly responsibility of establishing Jerusalem as a separate state within the Holy Land? Why should it assume the burden of governing and policing an area whose activities and population are intimately and inextricably associated with the surrounding Israelis and Arabs?

But if the trusteeship idea thus seems highly questionable even in the best of circumstances, it becomes far more dubious when viewed in the light of the circumstances that actually prevail. Those circumstances are anything but good, the chief one being that both Israel and Jordan appear to be united in their determination not to surrender the sovereignty they now exercise in the sections of the city they occupy. How then is the U.N. going to enforce the Assembly decision? How is it going to take over Jerusalem? What can it do without further aggravating the situation?

The questions seem to answer themselves. Without arms and administrative and financial wherewithal, the United Nations will be fortunate in the extreme if it does not soon find itself in a crisis of sorts because of its vote on Jerusalem. Everything considered, the chances look better than even that it will yet have to reverse itself and adopt a strictly limited form of internationalization, along the lines advocated by Britain, the United States and several other countries.

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Divided Jerusalem

Nothing could have dramatized quite as forcefully, in American eyes and those of the world, the division within Jerusalem as the fire which threatened the destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

This "holy place" for countless millions of Christians is within the "old city" now occupied by Arab troops of Jordan's King Abdullah.

A fire brigade from the "new city" under Jewish control stood at the walls of the old section prepared to give assistance in fighting the blaze, but this help was declined.

Two years ago the United Nations General Assembly adopted a plan for the partition of Palestine, which included internationalizing the Holy City and its environs. The leaders of Israel accepted the principle of UN sovereignty in Jerusalem, but when the Arabs rejected the whole partition, the long siege of the Holy City became one of the central campaigns of the Palestine war.

Reuven Shreibman, deputy mayor of Jerusalem, lately arrived in New York, declared that any United Nations plan to in-

ternationalize that city now would be "unworkable" and would mean "trouble instead of peace."

"Not one of the people of New Jerusalem, not one of the political parties of Jerusalem, will cooperate with any party except Israeli, because to change the status quo in Jerusalem would rob us of the freedom and independence and security for which our people fought and died."

The proposal of the UN conciliation commission that the whole city be semi-internationalized, leaving normal powers of government to the present occupiers is popular with none of the contenders.

The divided populations of Jerusalem would remain a source of friction and propaganda warfare, if not violence. The emotional and physical barriers to international authority are now firm and deep-seated.

Having demonstrated that it did not possess the authority to impose its plan of settlement upon Palestine and Jerusalem, the most that can be hoped for now is that the UN will be accepted as a custodian of the holy places, with all faiths guaranteed free access to their particular shrines.

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DAVENPORT-ROCKLAND-MOLINE
THE DAILY TIMES
Nov. 29, 1949

The Shame Of Jerusalem

By Max Lerner

Power-politics is never crueller or more cynical than when it is pursued in the name of religion or moral idealism. That is the lesson of the U.N. vote on Jerusalem.

Outwardly the U.N. proposal had a demure religious garb. The idea was to internationalize Jerusalem so that there would be access to the Holy places. Israel met this issue squarely by an offer to internationalize the Holy Places themselves, and Abdullah of Transjordan (who holds the Old City) followed suit. The offer was rejected. The U. S. delegation went farther, and proposed a limited U.N. police force to administer the Holy Places. This too was rejected.

At this point and from where I sit the garb of holiness looks like a rather cynical disguise.

. . .

Then there is the garb of legality—a sort of legal U.N. cleanliness that rates next to godliness.

The agreement is that the original U.N. Partition resolution provided for internationalizing Jerusalem, and this must be carried out. But the original resolution was meant to establish peace. The Arabs didn't accept it, and instead of peace there was war. If that war had ended with the Jews being pushed into the sea, would any Great Power or Great Church today be moving Heaven and earth to fish the Jews out of the sea and restore them to their land?

As it turned out the war ended with an Arab defeat, and with Abdullah holding the Old City of Jerusalem, and the Jews holding the New City, which was theirs also by right of history and population. Transjordan and Israel have been willing to make a permanent peace on that basis. The U.N. action therefore, instead of making peace, unmakes it.

. . .

Obviously Israel has been caught between an array of its enemies at the U.N., and has got sandbagged. It has been caught among a Vatican bloc, a Latin-American bloc, a Russian bloc, an Arab bloc.

The Holy See, which has lost much of its temporal hold in Europe, wants to make

Jerusalem a great Catholic symbol under the U.N. flag, and strengthen itself not only in the Middle East but the world over. The Latin-American bloc follows the Vatican's lead. As for the Russian bloc, Israel has incurred the Communist wrath by orienting itself toward American policy and accepting an American loan. The Arab states are driven by jealousy of Abdullah and hatred for the Jews. The Australian delegation led the attack because Australia's Labor Government was about to fight an election and was wooing Australia's Catholic vote. (P. S.: They lost the election anyway.)

Thus a city in which almost 100,000 Jews are today living—one-tenth of Israel's whole population—has been ordered taken away from it.

. . .

In moral terms the decision is shabby beyond belief. The Jews in Israel have survived a campaign of extermination by the Nazis. They survived a war against them by fifty million Arabs. They are now in the midst of an economic and immigration crisis. Perhaps, in Old Testament terms, the U.N. potentates and their allies are only acting out the role of Jehovah toward Job, testing Israel's faith by heaping the crucible of its agony with new curses and afflictions. Perhaps Israel should thank them, and re-affirm its faith in their Godhead.

I don't think it will. This is not the first time that the survivors of the human furnaces have been singed by the fires of cynicism and power-politics. They do not surrender easily, either to injustice or force. In this case the injustice has no force that will dare march against them and drive them from their city. The struggle will go on until the western conscience once more awakens.

The U.N. decision is a noble one. All it has against it is the fact that its religious mask shows through, its legal garments are skimpy, its moral ground is non-existent, it unsettles rather than settles the peace, and it lacks any method of enforcement. But these are enough to add up to the shame of Jerusalem.

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